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TRANSACTIONS

of the

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1931

Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Society

Springfield, Illinois, May 7-8, 1931

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

[Printed by authority of the State of Illinois]

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OFFICERS

of the

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MAY, 1931—MAY, 1932

President

OTTO L. SCHMIDT ..... Chicago

Vice-Presidents

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L. Y. SHERMAN ..... Springfield
RICHARD YATES ..... Springfield
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Secretary-Treasurer

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Honorary Vice-Presidents

THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ILLINOIS.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "Contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's Transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the Trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the Journal. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

§ 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which Board the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

§ 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

§ 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

§ 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control, under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,' approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889"; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

§ 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

§ 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice-President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore*.

§ 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

§ 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than two dollars; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than two dollars as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

§ 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

§ 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of

the Board of Directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every Society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

§ 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

§ 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

§ 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

§ 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

§ 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY

(Members Please Read This Circular Letter)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Cooperative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; material for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every county either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, Proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents, and School Committees; Educational Pamphlets, Programs

and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc. Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1931

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 8, 1931

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library, Friday, May 8, 1931, at 9:00 A. M.

There were present: Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the President, who presided; John H. Hauberg, Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., Andrew Russel, Charles H. Rammelkamp, Edward W. Payne and Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

The meeting was called to order by Doctor Schmidt. The first order of business was the reading of the minutes of the 1930 meeting but as they had already been published Mr. Hauberg moved that their reading be dispensed with. The motion was seconded by Father Siedenburg and carried.

The report of the Secretary of the Society was called for and read and on motion of Doctor Rammelkamp, seconded by Mr. Hauberg, was made a part of the record of the meeting.

The report of the Treasurer was received and placed on file.

The matter of dropping members for non-payment of dues was discussed from all standpoints and the Secretary was ordered to carry out the plan as outlined in last year's meeting.

Doctor Schmidt then took up the matter of photostats and their value to a library and stated that in the case of very rare material two or three libraries would combine to have photostats of a book of this nature made and the cost would not be too great for any one library. He mentioned Degannes Memoir, the original of which cost thousands of dollars, a photostatic copy of which had recently been purchased by the Library. It is the only real comprehensive story of the Illinois Indians.

The matter of sending resolutions to the families of deceased members was discussed and on motion of Father Siedenburg, seconded by Doctor Rammelkamp, was referred to the President and Secretary for action.

Attention was called to the fact that there was a vacancy on the Board of Directors caused by the death of Judge Joseph B. Oakleaf of Moline and a number of names were suggested for the consideration of the Board.

Mr. Hauberg spoke of the centennial of the Black Hawk War and called attention to the fact that the one hundredth anniversary is to be

celebrated in 1932. He said he had been gathering material for some years and had photostats of letters of Governor William Clark, Governor Reynolds, Gaines, Atkinson, and one letter of Andrew Jackson, all having to do with the Black Hawk War and the Black Hawk Indians. He brought up the subject of proper celebrations of this event for next year and also of the bicentennial of the birth of George Washington, which will be a national celebration.

He stated that the people in the northern part of the State around Galena are thinking of having a celebration of the Black Hawk War and that Prophetstown also plans to celebrate but that it was important that some society, perhaps the Illinois State Historical Society, should place emphasis on the Black Hawk War.

Doctor Schmidt agreed that it was an important event and had much to do with the opening up of the Northern part of the State. He suggested that as Mr. Hauberg lives in the center of Black Hawk tradition that he be appointed chairman of such a committee. Mr. Hauberg said he would be glad to accept. The President then called for a motion requesting Mr. Hauberg to prepare a report on this matter and submit it so that preparation could be started at any time.

Doctor Rammelkamp stated that while Mr. Hauberg should be on the Committee he thought that the President of the Society should also be a member and would like the motion to include Mr. Hauberg as chairman, the President of the Society and as many others as the Board might like to have appointed to make recommendations for the part the State Society is to take in the Black Hawk Centennial Celebration.

Motion made, seconded and carried.

The matter of the celebration of the two hundredth birthday of George Washington was then taken up and a pamphlet issued by the George Washington Bi-Centennial Commission was read. A general discussion followed and Doctor Schmidt suggested it might be well to have some outstanding orator for the December 3rd meeting of the State Society. That while it was not yet Washington's birthday, preliminary meetings ought to be held in order to arouse the interest of the people. Father Siedenburg suggested that the National Commission should be gotten in touch with and let know of the existence of this Society. Mr. Russel thought the President of the Illinois State Historical Society should be the representative of this organization in any conference that takes place regarding the Washington celebration. The President replied that it would be the general work of the Society and was merely brought up so that the minds of all would be turned in that direction.

The President called for further business and Doctor Rammelkamp took up the matter of Lincoln material that had been offered to the Library and Society for $2,000.00 and stated if same were purchased it would be necessary to secure a special appropriation. A general discussion followed as to the feasibility of asking for a special appropriation. Doctor Schmidt suggested

that the collection be split and $900.00 be offered for that portion of it that would be most important to the Library. He said he doubted if a special bill could be gotten through the Legislature at this time.

There being no further business to come before the Board a motion was made to adjourn, seconded and carried.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 8, 1931.

The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, May 8, 1931, at 10:00 A. M. and was called to order by the President, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt.

The first order of business was the reading of the minutes of the 1930 meeting but as they had been published and were ready for distribution, it was moved by Father Siedenburg, seconded by Mrs. I. G. Miller, that this formality be dispensed with and the report of the Secretary was taken up by the President who read the important parts of it. He stated that the various matters it contained had been taken up in the Board of Directors' meeting at length.

He spoke of the Centennial of the Black Hawk War to be celebrated in 1932 and stated that Mr. Hauberg as chairman of the committee to plan for the celebration would select the members of his committee and they would make a report. The bicentennial of the birth of George Washington which also occurs in 1932 was discussed.

The next order of business being the election of officers and the filling of a vacancy on the Board of Directors caused by the death of Judge J. B. Oakleaf of Moline, the President asked if the usual custom should be carried out and if so, that someone make a motion that a nominating committee be appointed by the Chair. The motion was made by Father Siedenburg, seconded and carried. The President thereupon appointed Mrs. I. G. Miller, Miss Margaret Norton and Mr. Clint Clay Tilton. The latter asked to be excused as he had not attended previous meetings and suggested that someone else be appointed who was better acquainted with the members of the Society. Professor Thomas E. O'Donnell was then appointed. The Nominating Committee retired.

While they were absent from the room Doctor Schmidt spoke of a trip he had made to Fort Wayne, Indiana, to see the Lincoln Collection and Museum of the Lincoln Life Insurance Company. Doctor Louis A. Warren, the Director of the Lincoln Research Bureau of this Company has been very active and has collected much material.

He also told about the dedication of the Hickok Monument at Troy Grove in which he took part; also of the completion of Fort Chartres and the unveiling of the small monument there last year; of the work done at the Menard Home, which was acquired by the State and called on Mr. Hauberg to give an account of the Rock Island County Sesqui-Centennial Celebration, September 14-20, 1930, which he did and called attention to the fact that a full account was in the January, 1931, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, which

would soon be ready for distribution. Mr. Hauberg gave great praise to all those who contributed in any way to the success of the celebration and made especial mention of those who gave fine historical addresses which are now embodied in the permanent records of the State Society.

The Nominating Committee returned to the room and Mrs. I. G. Miller, the chairman, stated they were ready to report and presented the list of nominations made by that body:

President

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

Charles H. Rammelkamp.....Jacksonville
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Chicago
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln H. Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenburg, S. J.....Chicago
Edward W. Payne.....Springfield
Mark D. Batchelder.....Peoria

Secretary-Treasurer

Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

It was moved by Mr. Hauberg and seconded by Mr. Baldwin that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted. Carried. The officers as nominated were declared elected.

There being no further business, on motion of Father Siedenburg, seconded by Mr. Hauberg, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 8, 1931

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN: I herewith submit report as Secretary of the State Historical Society from May 9, 1930 to May 8, 1931.

The Society continues to grow in interest and our publications are widely known both in this country and in some of the foreign countries. As you know the annual dues were increased (effective January 1, 1930,) to Two Dollars per annum; it has affected our membership to a degree but not to the detriment of the work of the department. I am always sorry to drop any of the old members for non-payment of dues but if you will recall this matter was taken up last year and it was decided to cut off members when their dues were not paid for a given time. On account of my accident which has kept me from the library for a number of weeks this has not been done. Is it your wish that members be dropped from the list for non-payment of dues for a period of years and that they be notified of the reason why they have been dropped?

We now have 28 life members, five new ones being added since our last report; 9 honorary members and 1,024 annual members.

With regard to our purchase of manuscripts for the year we have not secured many since our last meeting as the price of Lincoln documents is prohibitive and beyond our reach unless we have a special appropriation from the State Legislature for this purpose, which matter might well be taken up at the next session of the General Assembly. We have purchased:

Original manuscript report of the claims within the establishment of Fort Chartres and of the tract a mile square reserved by Act of Congress. Report of the Commons and Common Field Tract and town lots of the Village of Cahokia and Prairie du Pont. $100.00.

3 Letters Governor Richard Yates (War-Governor)—

1 to Sidney Clarke, dated May 31, 1869.
1 to S. C. Pomeroy, dated May 21, 1869.
1 to E. G. Ross, dated May 31, 1869.
The lot $6.00.

Diary Orville Hickman Browning January 1, 1879 to December 31, 1879 $100.00.

This completes the file of the original diaries of Orville Hickman Browning, the second volume of which is now in the press and will be distributed before the end of the year, we hope. The first volume has been out for some time.

One original commission appointing O. H. Browning as Secretary of the Interior, signed by the President, Andrew Johnson, dated July 27, 1866. $25.00.

One original letter "To the President," dated March 3, 1879, at Washington, D. C. resigning the office of Secretary of the Interior, signed by O. H. Browning. $25.00.

Letter General James Shields dated February 28, 1849, $25.00.

Letter General Shields to General Mulligan dated January 29, 1864, $25.00.

Ninian Edwards—

Letter to Governor Scott of Kentucky concerning the conspiracy of the Indians to attack the settlements of the (Ill.) territory and Missouri. A combination to make concerted attacks on all settlements along the Mississippi. Elvirado, Randolph Cty, Ill. Ty. August 4, 1812.....$112.00

Written and signed by the Governor.

Not in Life and Times of Ninian Edwards.

Photostat of Degannes Memoir and notes by Doctor Quaife, $250.00.

During the past year we have had deposited with us by Probate Judge Roger Chapin the original file of the Will of Abraham Lincoln and also the original file of the Guardianship of Thomas Lincoln (Tad) and photostatic copies of these wills. These deposits are a valuable addition to our Lincolniana and have been called for a number of times lately. We, however, allow the photostatic copies to be consulted by the students rather than the valuable originals.

With regard to the purchase of rare books we have secured a limited number as the catalogs, which I have gone over carefully, have not listed anything but what we already have and in many cases are asking double what we have paid for the items. I understand that the Newberry Library of Chicago has photostatic copies made in Washington of rare books they are unable to secure but as this is very expensive work we have not gone into it fully. What is your pleasure with regard to our adopting this plan?

Two rare oleograph portraits of Stephen A. Douglas and Andrew Jackson, suitably framed, have also been purchased in the past year.

The society has received by gift the following:

A very fine Lincoln etching by Enrico Glicenstein was presented by Mrs. Sophie Rosenwald Adler of Chicago, Illinois, a former resident of Springfield.

Framed picture of the "Breaking of the Deadlock" gift of Hon. C. J. Doyle of Springfield.

Framed picture of Father Peter J. DeSmet, S. J. Indian missionary. Gift of St. Louis University through its Librarian, Father Regnet, S. J.

Wood carving depicting early life of Abraham Lincoln. Gift of J. S. Hardwick of Wichita, Kans., who did the carving.

Rogers Group of statuary "The Council of War" Grant, Stanton and Lincoln. Gift of F. E. Kennedy, an educator of Springfield.

Quilt 87 years old. Gift of Mrs. Ida Stilwell formerly of Harrisburg but now living in Florida.

Report on land in Macoupin County, Illinois, made to John McComb, Jr., in 1843. Gift of Mrs. Helen A. Collingswood of New York City.

Hon. Henry T. Thomas of New York City for many years a member of the Illinois State Historical Society willed the following manuscripts to the Society and Library:

Letter signed by Lt. General Winfield Scott addressed to J. B. Thomas, 3 p. dated November 3, 1828.

Election notice J. B. Thomas, dated March 14, 1823, signed Hubbard.

1 document signed by James Madison, President, dated March 7, 1809.

1 notice slave sale, 1 p. Michael Ganz to J. B. Thomas, August 7, 1813.

1 election notice signed by Pierre Menard and John Messinger, dated October 9, 1818, House of Representatives.

1 notice of slave sale, 1 page, Thomas Ragland, June 21, 1814.

1 invitation to dinner J. B. Thomas, dated April 25, 1821.

1 autograph letter signed by Thomas Jefferson, address to Mr. Thomas, Washington, D. C., December 10, 1808.

1 document signed by William Henry Harrison, Governor Indiana Territory, dated August 24, 1805, addressed to J. B. Thomas.

1 autograph letter signed by William Henry Harrison, dated Nov. 27, 1807, to J. B. Thomas.

1 copy New York Herald April 15, 1865, containing account assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

1 copy Illinois State Register, "Extra" edition June 30, 1882, containing account execution of assassin of President Garfield.

Both the gift of Mrs. John Hopper of Springfield.

1 photostatic copy letter Larkin G. Mead to Hon. Justin S. Morrill, dated October 8, 1868, in regard to the National Lincoln Monument.

Gift of Judge Henry H. Horner.

Bust of Mrs. Myra Bradwell, the first woman lawyer of the State of Illinois. Presented by her granddaughter, Mrs. Myra Helmer Pritchard of Battle Creek, Michigan.

Miss Margaret C. Norton, State Archivist, has given the department several photostatic copies of Lincoln documents.

A piece of wood from the tree under which General Pemberton surrendered to General Grant, July 4, 1863. Cut from the tree by Joseph Forrest. Presented to the Society by Miss Lillian Forrest of Jewell, Kansas.

Facsimile reproduction of the Chicago Democrat of Tuesday, November 26, 1833. Gift of Mr. Toby Rubovits of Chicago.

We have also had deposited with us a file of the Illinois Sentinel, Feb. 1855 to March, 1868. In 6 volumes. By Mr. John Hackett, grandson of James R. Bailey, Ed. and Pub. It is eventually the plan of Mr. Hackett to donate this file to the department. It is a valuable addition to the old Jacksonville files we already have.

We have also had fifteen bound files of the Canton Daily Register from January 2, 1915-December 31, 1920, deposited by the Canton Ledger Company, Mr. U. G. Orendorff of Canton, owner.

MAPS

We have purchased a collection of 7 rare French and English maps—Pierre Vander's map of North America (1800) published by the Royal Academy of France; map of Louisiana and Territory in dispute between the English and the French, published by the Royal Academy of France; map of Florida (1800) by Pierre Vander, published by the Royal Academy of France. Map of North America by L. Fielding, 1783, London, England, published by L. Fielding; Carte des Lacs du Canada by N. Bellin, published N. Bellin 1744; Carte des Parties nord et Ouest de L'Amerique by M. de Vaugondy, 1764, published by M. de Vaugondy, 1772; Map L'Amerique, Septentrionale by Sr. Janvier, published by the King of France, 1762.

The Collection $122.50

and we are continuing to add to our Crown Collection of maps.

GENEALOGICAL REPORT

The report of the Genealogical Committee has been prepared and as same will be printed in the published Transactions of the Society I ask that it not be read at this time.

PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST

The subject for the 1929-1930 prize essay contest under the auspices of the Illinois State Daughters of the American Revolution and the Illinois State Historical Society was "Early Schools and Teachers in My County." The Gold Medal or State Prize was awarded at our Illinois Day meeting on December 3, 1930, by the State Regent, Mrs. Eli Dixson, to Miss Owenetta Edwards of Normal, Illinois. This contest attracts a great deal of attention and while out of the 102 counties of the State the percentage of counties competing is not very large, still in a conversation with Hon. Francis G. Blair, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, he expressed the opinion that this was a fair representation and well worth our interest.

The topics for 1930-1931 is "Early Physicians of my County." While the State Board of Health has published a History of Physicians of Illinois still there are many of the early doctors of the State not recorded. In talking the subject over with Doctor Andy Hall, Director of the Department of Public Health, he thought this would be a splendid topic for the year and it would be a fine idea to get material on some of the early physicians, which would otherwise be lost.

The State Society took part in a joint meeting with the Tri-City Historical Society and City Officials of Rock Island on September 14-20, 1930, the occasion being the Rock Island County Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary War. The celebration of Tuesday, September 16th, was under the auspices of the State Society and addresses were made by Mrs. K. T. Anderson of Rock Island; Dr. Irving S. Cutter, dean of Northwestern Medical School, Chicago; Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian of the

Missouri Historical Society; Dr. Theodore Calvin Pease, Editor of the Illinois Historical Collections; Dr. Milo M. Quaife of Detroit, Secretary-Editor of the Burton Historical Collection; Dr. Louis A. Warren, Director of the Lincoln Historical Research Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, attended the dedication of the memorial to James Butler Hickok (Wild Bill Hickok) and Mr. Wallace Rice made the dedicatory address.

We have been very fortunate in securing for the Department a fine light and airy newspaper room in the Centennial annex. This will be a wonderful place for students consulting the newspapers to work when it is fully equipped for their use. The dimensions of this room are 22 by 61 feet 6 inches.

We have also secured a shipping room adjoining the newspaper room in the Annex. This will facilitate the sending out of our publications. The dimensions of this room are 22 by 18 feet 6 inches. The main newspaper room and newspaper shipping room in the Centennial Building Annex has a floor space of 1760 square feet.

We have issued and distributed to Libraries of the State and the United States a General Index to the Collections, Journals and Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society 1899-1928. This was prepared by Miss Juliet G. Sager, Assistant Librarian, and has filled a long felt want. Any member desiring a copy may have one on application.

During the past year we have lost by death many of our valued members some of whom have been identified with the Society for more than twenty years.

Eric Anderson, Galva, Illinois, Dec. 22, 1930.
Rev. William E. Barton, Foxboro, Mass., Dec. 7, 1930.
C. E. Bolles, Oak Park, Illinois, 1930.
Sidney S. Breese, Springfield, Illinois, July 8, 1930.
Dr. A. L. Brittin, Athens, Illinois, July 10, 1930.
James C. Burns, Macomb, Illinois, Aug. 16, 1930.
Edward C. Carter, Evanston, Illinois, Dec. 1930.
Will H. Clark, Chicago, Illinois, Dec. 3, 1930.
Gust Eastland, Cambridge, Illinois, June 22, 1930.
Mrs. C. M. Fergerson, Minneapolis, Minn., 1930.
Miss Florence Foley, Lincoln, Illinois, Feb., 1931.
Professor J. P. Garlick, San Mateo, California, Jan. 19, 1931.
U. J. Hoffman, Springfield, Illinois, Jan., 1931.
Clifford Ireland, Peoria, Illinois, May 24, 1930.
Mrs. John A. McClernand, Peoria, Illinois, Jan. 14, 1931.
Hon. Norman H. Moss, Mt. Vernon, Illinois, 1930.
Paul F. Mueller, Chicago, Illinois, Jan. 9, 1931.
Joseph B. Oakleaf, Moline, Illinois, June 2, 1930.
Mrs. Frances Otwell, Plainview, Illinois, Dec. 9, 1930.
Judge Hugo Pam, Chicago, Illinois, May 29, 1930.
A. E. Pillsbury, Boston, Mass., Dec. 23, 1930.
Dr. Arthur E. Prince, Springfield, Illinois, Oct., 1930.
Mrs. Joseph Richmond, Geneseo, Illinois, Dec. 26, 1930.

Hon. Albert D. Rodenberg, Springfield, Illinois, Feb., 1931.
E. C. Silliman, Chenoa, Illinois, Dec. 11, 1930.
Miss Sarah Starr Stahl, Chicago, Illinois, 1930.
Frank B. Stitt, El Paso, Illinois, April 30, 1930.
J. J. Thompson (Editor Catholic Historical Review), Chicago, Illinois, June 27, 1930.
J. William Walton, Jacksonville, Illinois, July 4, 1930.
Mrs. W. B. Whitlock, Springfield, Illinois, March 15, 1931.
Mrs. Alice Bradford Wiles, Chicago, Illinois, 1930.
Mrs. Lolah W. Woods, Carlinville, Illinois, Feb. 27, 1931.

We have been called upon to furnish much material both from the newspapers and other sources in regard to the rededication of the Lincoln Monument. We are fortunate in having much of the original music sung at the time of Lincoln's death and Mr. William Dodd Chenery has spent much time in the Library going over this material. For the use of the Committee photostatic copies of this music and other material from the newspapers will be made.

We still continue to have visits from large delegations of schools and colleges both from this State and other States of the Union, who are much interested in our Lincolniana.

This, gentlemen, covers the activities of the department for the past year. I fully appreciate all the assistance you have given to me and to my co-workers.

Georgia L. Osborne,
Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY

To the officers and members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

As the years go on the Genealogical Department of the Illinois State Historical Library grows in importance in its service to the people of Illinois and elsewhere. Each day brings many requests for information which in most cases are answered promptly although now and then we receive letters that require many days of research before we can be of help. Whenever such letters are received by the other libraries of the State or by the city library they are immediately referred to this department.

People from all parts of the State as well as from Springfield come to the Library whenever opportunity presents to work on their genealogies. There seems to be a growing tendency to acquire more information as to their ancestors and to this end students spend many hours in connecting up their lines.

Since last year we have acquired the following publications which are valuable to genealogical students:

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, COMPILED BY STATES

Connecticut State. Old Fairfield, Connecticut. History and Genealogy of the Families of old Fairfield. Compiled and edited by Donald Lines Jacobus, M. A., for the Eunice Dennie Burr chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Fairfield, Conn. Parts 1-6. Pub. New Haven Connecticut, The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor company, 1930.

Connecticut State. Windsor, Conn. Some Early Records and Documents of and relating to the Town of Windsor, Conn., 1639-1703. 227 pp. Pub. Hartford, Conn., Connecticut Historical Society, 1930.

Connecticut State. Woodstock, Conn. History of Woodstock, Conn., Vol. 3. By Clarence Winthrop Bowen. 694 pp. Pub. Norwood, Mass., privately printed, by Plimpton Press. 1930.

Georgia State. Dougherty county. History and Reminiscences of Dougherty County, Georgia. Compiled by Thronateeska Chapter, D. A. R. 411 pp. Pub. Albany, Ga., by Chapter. 1924.

Georgia State. Washington county. History of Washington County, Georgia. By Ella Mitchell. 171 pp. Pub. Atlanta, Ga., Byrd Printing Co. 1924.

Georgia State. Wilkinson county. History of Wilkinson County, Georgia. By Victor Davidson. 645 pp. Pub. Macon, Ga., John Ball Chapter, D. A. R., J. W. Burke Co. Press. 1930.

Illinois State. Omaha, Ill. (Dr.) Alexander Robinson Pearce. By Micah Pearce Smith. 13 pp. Typewritten. 1930.

Illinois State. Omaha, Ill. Inscriptions from Lamb Burial Ground, near Omaha, Illinois. By Micah Pearce Smith. unp. Hand-written, July 25, 1930.

Illinois State. Omaha, Ill. Old "Mack" Pearce Cemetery, near Omaha, Illinois. By Micah Pearce Smith. unp. Hand-written, July 27, 1930.

Illinois State. Omaha, Ill. Typewritten History of Omaha, Illinois. By Micah Pearce Smith. 26 pp. Submitted by Micah Pearce Smith. 1930.

Iowa State. Monroe county. An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa. By Frank Hickenlooper. 360 pp. Pub. Albia, Iowa, Frank Hickenlooper. 1896.

Kentucky State. Daniel Boone's Predecessor in Kentucky, Thomas Walker. By Annie Walker Burns. 175 pp. Typewritten, mimeographed. 1931.

Kentucky State. Franklin county. A Complete Record of Marriages, Births and Deaths of Franklin County, Kentucky, for the Period of Years 1852 to 1862, Inclusive. Compiled by Mrs. Annie Walker Burns. 3 Vols. Typewritten. 1931.

Kentucky State. Harlan county. A Complete Record of Marriages, Births and Deaths of Harlan County, Kentucky, for the Period of Years 1852-1862, Inclusive. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns. 40 pp. Frankfort, Ky. Typewritten. 1931.

New York State. The Life and Work of George H. Corliss. Prepared and privately printed for Mary Corliss. 87 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., American Historical Society, Inc. 1930.

Ohio State. History of the Sycamore Associate Reformed Church, now United Presbyterian. By Josiah Morrow. 52 pp. Pub. Cincinnati, Ohio, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. 1930.

Pennsylvania State. The Meeting House Springs Graveyard. By Allan D. Thompson. 21 pp. Pub. Carlisle, Pa. 1927.

Vermont State. Records (Vital) of the Town Clerk of Pomfret, Vermont. Gathered by Alison B. Hitchcock. 27 pp. Typed copy. 1930.

Virginia State. Accomack county. Land Causes Accomack County, Virginia, 1727-1826. Compiled by Stratton Nottingham. 130 pp. Pub. Onancock, Va., by the author. 1930.

Virginia State. Bedford county. Our Kin. The Genealogies of some of the early Families. By Mary Denham Ackerly and Lula Eastman Jeter Parker. 819 pp. Pub. Lynchburg, Va., J. P. Bell Co. 1930.

Virginia State. Lancaster county. Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors from Lancaster County, Virginia. Compiled by Stratton Nottingham. 74 pp. Onancock, Va., typewritten. 1930.

Virginia State. Lunenberg county. Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg, Virginia. By Landon C. Bell. 633 pp. Pub. Richmond, Va., Byrd Press. 1930.

Virginia State. Virginia Valley Records. By John W. Wayland. 491 pp. Pub. Strasburg, Va., Shenandoah Pub. House. 1930.

FAMILY HISTORIES

Adkins Family. Adkins or Atkins Family and Descendants. From Records of Harriet Adkins Phelps, deceased, Plymouth, Ill. Compiled by Dr. R. L. Walty. 12 pp. Typewritten. 1926.

Allen Family. *See* Flower-Allen-Osborn Family.

Atkins Family. *See* Adkins Family.

Banning Family. Banning, Bradley and Allied Families. unp. Pub. Hartford, Conn., States Historical Society. 1930.

Bingham Family. The Bingham Family in the United States. By Theodore Alfred Bingham. 3 Vols. Pub. Easton, Pa., the Bingham Association. 1927—

Bradley Family. *See* Banning Family.

Brooke Family. Chart of Robert Brooke. n. d.

Brown Family. Genealogy of the Brown Family of Prince William County, Virginia. 874 pp. Pub. Strasburg, Va., Shenandoah Pub. House, Inc. 1930.

Bruen Family. Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, (Chart of) 1907.

Catlin Family. The Biography and Ancestry of Hon. George Henry Catlin, Scranton, Pennsylvania, with Notes on Genealogy. By S. Fletcher Weyburn. 25 pp. Pub. Scranton, Penn., Lackawanna Historical Society. 1930.

Conn Family. John Conn of Groton, Massachusetts and some of his Descendants. By Mary Gazelle Hoffman. 25 pp. Pub. Boston, Mass., from New England Historical and Genealogical Register. 1927.

Conover Family. *See* Reding Family.

Diehl Family. Diehl Families of America. By Elias Henry Diehl. 227 pp. Pub. Ipava, Ill., E. H. Diehl. 1915.

Dodds Family. The Genealogy and History of the Dodds Families. By Lydia Colby. 177 pp. Pub. Springfield, Ill., Journal Printing Co. n. d.

Flower Family. Flower-Allen-Osborn. By Albert Osborn. 24 pp. Privately printed. 1930.

Gillette Family. Gillette and Allied Families. By Mrs. Lewis Singer Gillette. 153 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., American Historical Society. 1930.

Hoagland Family. *See* Reding Family.

Houghton Family. *See* Reding Family.

Joy Family. Thomas Joy and his Descendants. By James Richard Joy. 225 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., the author. 1900.

Laflin Family. Laflin Genealogy. By Alfred L. Holman. 142 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., privately printed. 1930.

Lloyd Family. Papers of the Lloyd Family of New York. By Dorothy C. Barck. 2 Vols. Pub. New York, N. Y., for the New York Historical Society. 1927.

Mays Family. Genealogy of the Mays Family and Related Families to 1929. By Samuel Edward Mays. 288 pp. Pub., Plant City, Fla., by author. 1929.

McClellan Family. McClellan, Mynderse and Allied Families, genealogical and biographical. By Helen Livingston McClellan. 151 pp. New York, N. Y., American Historical Society. 1928.

McFarland Family. Genealogy of Daniel McFarland, Sr. (d. 1738.) By Clara Emerson. chart on broadside. Pub. Petersburg, Ill., the author. 1930.

McKelvey Family. The McKelvey Family History. By Frederick Hotchkiss McKelvey. 40 pp. 1931.

Murray Family. Murray Family Records. By J. Montgomery Seaver. 64 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Pa., American Historical-Genealogical Society. n. d.

Mynderse Family. *See* McClellan Family.

North Family. The Caleb North Genealogy. By Dexter North. 90 pp. Pub., Washington, D. C., typewritten. 1930.

Noyes Family. Genealogical Record of some of the Noyes Descendants of James, Nicholas and Peter Noyes. Collected and compiled by (Col.) Henry E. Noyes, U. S. A. and Miss Harriette E. Noyes. 2 vols. Pub., Boston, Mass., 1904.

Osborn Family. *See* Flower-Allen-Osborn Family.

Peck Family. History of a Distinctive Family of Scranton and Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania. By S. Fletcher Weyburn. 31 pp. Pub. Scranton, Penn., Lackawanna Historical Society. 1929.

Phelps Family. Phelps Family Records. Compiled by Dr R. L. Walty. 16 pp. Typewritten. 1926.

Pierce Family. Pierce Genealogy. By Frederick Clifton Pierce. 441 pp. Pub. Albany, N. Y., for the author, by Joel Munsell's Sons. 1889.

Read Family. The Reads and their Relatives. By Alice Read Rouse. 688 pp. Pub. Cincinnati, Ohio, Johnson and Hardin Press. 1930.

Reding Family. Genealogical Memoirs. By Clara Reding Primm. 46 pp. Pub. Centralia, Mo., the author. 1930.

Taylor Family. Taylor of Tennessee. By Zella Armstrong. 36 pp. Pub. Chattanooga, Tenn., The Lookout Pub. Co. n. d.

Throckmorton Family. Throckmorton Family History. By Francis Grimes Sitherwood. 416 pp. Pub. Bloomington, Ill., Pantagraph Printing Co.' 1929.

Walker Family. Walker History. By Annie Walker Burns. Typewritten, mimeographed. 1930.

Wallace Family. An Arkansas Judge, 1850-1927. By Rev. Jerry Wallace. 59 pp. Pub. Springfield, Ill., the family. 1928.

Weikert Family. History of the Weikert Family from 1735-1930. By Edward L. Weikert. 357 pp. Pub. Harrisburg, Pa., the Telegraph Press. 1930.

Williams Family. Williams Family Records. By Dr. R. L. Walty. Typewritten. 1926.

GENERAL WORKS

Biographical Sketches of American Artists. Foreword by Mary C. Spencer, State Librarian. 201 pp. Pub. Lansing, Mich., State Library. 1912.

Book of Rhode Island. Distributed by Rhode Island Bureau of Information. 299 pp. Pub. Rhode Island State. 1928.

Colonial Men and Times containing Journal of Daniel Trabue. Ed. by Lillie DuPuy VanCulin Harper. 624 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Penn., Innes and Sons. 1916.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Lineage Book, Nat. Society, D. A. R. Pub. Washington, D. C., by the Society. 368 pp. 1930.

Heroes of 1812. By the Members of the Nebraska Society of United States Daughters of 1812. 228 pp. Pub. Omaha, Neb., the Society. 1930.

Washington Past and Present. (Vols. 3 and 4) By John Clagett Proctor. Pub. New York, N. Y., Lewis Historical Pub. Co. 1930.

Who's Who in Government. Biographical Research Bureau, Inc. 800 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., Biographical Research Bureau, Inc. 1930.

Who's Who in the Nation's Capital. 97 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., the Tenny Press. 1930.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Genealogical Committee.

PROGRAM OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ORDER OF EXERCISES

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1931—10:00 A. M.

Meeting of Lincoln Circuit Marking Association in the Illinois State Historical Library, Rev. David F. Nelson, President, Presiding.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 O'CLOCK

John H. Hauberg, Vice President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—Early Music and Musicians in Illinois. W. D. Armstrong, President, Madison County Historical Society, Alton, Illinois.

Songs—(a) The Star (James H. Rogers); (b) A Memory Song (Rudolph Ganz); (c) The Last Rose of Summer (Arranged by LeRoy Wetzel); (d) A Spring Fancy (John H. Densmore). Miss Laura Thoma, Mrs. Lindle Wolaver, Accompanist.

Address—Greene Vardiman Black, 1836-1915. Bessie M. Black, Jacksonville, Illinois.

Address—An Outline of the History of Architecture in Illinois. Thomas E. O'Donnell, Associate Professor of Architecture, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 7, 1931—8:15 O'CLOCK

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Invocation—Rev. Herbert Waldo Hines, Springfield, Illinois.

Songs—(a) Bird Songs at Eventide (Coates); (b) Passing By (Purcell); (c) To a Hill-top (Cox). Charles Fetzer, Jr., Miss Helen Nettleton, Accompanist.

Annual Address—Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890-1896. James A. Barnes, Ph. D., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Songs—(a) The Star (James H Rogers); (b) Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes (Roger Quilter); (c) "You and I" (Ward-Stephens), Charles Fetzer, Jr., Miss Helen Nettleton, Accompanist.

Reception in the Illinois State Historical Library. Public invited.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1931

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

9:00—Directors' Meeting in the Office of the Secretary.

10:00 Business Meeting of the Society in the Auditorium of the Centennial Memorial Building.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 8, 1931—2:30 O'CLOCK

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—Leaders in American Immigration. Theodore C. Blegen, Assistant Superintendent, Minnesota Historical Society, Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Songs—(a) In the Luxembourg Gardens (Manning); (b) Lift Thine Eyes (F. K. Logan); (c) By the Bend of the River (C. Edwards); (d) The Look (L. Mitchell). Miss Catherine Quinn, Mrs. Thomas Mahoney, Accompanist.

Address—John W. Vance and the Vermilion Salines. Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, Illinois.

Presentation of bronze bust of Mrs. Myra Bradwell, first woman lawyer of Illinois, founder and editor of Chicago Legal News for twenty-five years, first woman member of the Illinois State Bar Association. By her granddaughter, Myra Helmer Pritchard.

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

May 7-8, 1931

ILLINOIS AND THE GOLD-SILVER CONTROVERSY, 1890-1896

James A. Barnes, Ph. D.,
Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sometime in the late eighties a young grade pupil of Illinois whose acquaintance with Webster was, to say the least, not intimate and whose familiarity with the grammarians Harvey and Rigdon was touching in its simplicity, wrote a composition on gold. "Gold is the most valuable of ores," he began. "And is found in all parts of the world. Gold is used for many purposes. And you can pound it into sheets. And is easly cut. And we coin it into money. And we also make juelry out of it. We use it for guilting fraims and other purposes. Well I have not finished where it is found and so I will proceed. It is found in the Cordilleras of America in the Andeas in South America and in the Himilah of Asia. And that is all I know and I will proceed no longer."[1]

The budding young logician may be excused for his ignorance of spelling and grammar, but he was certainly not a well-informed young man, or he would not have neglected to say that "silver should be freely coined along with gold at the ratio of 16 to 1." A few years' time, whatever the changes in English, would most assuredly have brought the addition of the satisfying phrase, "without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth," for residents of Illinois, regardless of their ages, had by 1896 become thoroughly familiar with this demand of the silver advocates.

The story of Illinois in the monetary controversy which spread over the nation in the years 1890 to 1896 is both interesting and important. The rolling, corn-covered prairies of this commonwealth of the Old Northwest bred a sturdy race of farmers who, like most tillers of the soil, were amply blessed with hard labor and heavy debts and were therefore ready to enlist in any cause which promised an easier life. The lot of the ordinary American in the seventies and eighties was grievous; particularly was this true of the farmer, for returning prosperity after the Civil War reserved its smiles for the manufacturer and industrialist, while the agrarian found himself caught in the toils of ever-increasing debts as his farm products rapidly fell in price.[2]

[1] Morrison MSS.

[2] Life on the farm was not easy; there were long, laborious hours in the summer and icy chores in the winter. "I can see myself engaged in this drudgery [of the icy chores], my nose running, my fingers numb, and possessing feelings for which the Sunday-school songs I knew did not furnish fitting expression," wrote William Jennings Bryan, who was born pat in the year the first State seceded, and attained political manhood just in time to lead the great crusade of the West. See *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, by himself and his wife Mary Baird Bryan (Chicago, 1925), p. 35.

His pockets were always empty, and we find that in these years necessity was the mother not only of invention, but also of a numerous brood of financial theories.

The farmer began to suspect that his heritage in the prosperity of the nation was being surreptitiously pocketed by someone else. He knew that the surplus in the Treasury of the United States, which had been piling up at the rate of more than one hundred millions of dollars a year since 1881, had not come from the wealthy banker or manufacturer; his own scarcity of cash revealed to him in no uncertain terms the source of his country's wealth. There is little wonder that in this period the common man began to feel that his government was against him; everywhere he turned he bumped into the sharp and painful corners of privilege. Each year he was compelled to haul more bushels of corn to market in order to purchase shoes for his children; he found the taxes odious because he had nothing with which to meet them; the railroads levied whatever rates they chose; and the democracy could not even produce an inspiring statesman.

Although they may not have voted for his party, many began to believe the words which John G. Carlisle, Democratic leader of tariff reform, put into the mouth of the perpetually poor and hard-working farmer who appeared before the Tariff Commission. "I have been reading Horace Greeley's words wherein he proves that you have been doing all this thing on my account," said Carlisle's farmer to the tariff experts. "I am told if I help to reduce the price of a yard of cloth, the clothman will come to me and buy two bushels of wheat instead of one. Now, the more I think of it the more I believe that I give two bushels of wheat for a yard of cloth! I've about made up my mind that everything that anybody gets comes out of somebody else, and I've begun to think that I'm the somebody else."[3] Certainly the farmers agreed with the Kentuckian who said, "When you furnish a currency that will pay debts and buy necessaries at a low cost it is sound."[4]

It was not a sad decline in intelligence which in the early nineties caused the citizens of the midlands to begin with more earnestness than ever before what was to the East a frantic search for "easy money." Many a poet sang to them of their troubles; the heart of the indebted farmer responded to the lines:

You may say that life is trouble
When the clouds are in the blue;
But a fellow finds it double
When the Note Falls Due!

Sorrow's nothing but a bubble
That will vanish from the view;
But it's trouble, trouble, trouble
When the Note Falls Due!

[3] Public address, March 15, 1884.

[4] Judge J. Q. Ward, Frankfort, Kentucky, to W. C. P. Breckinridge, January 6, 1886. Breckinridge MSS.

And the corn—it goes to stubble,
And the rose—it withers, too;
And it's trouble, trouble, trouble,
When the Note Falls Due!

Go it single file or double,
There'll be work enough for you
In a living world of trouble
When the Note Falls Due![5]

The time is too brief to follow the varied social, economic, and political circumstances which led to the great silver conflict.[6] It will, perhaps, suffice to say that the long fingers of settlement which pushed their way into the arid regions of the West in the eighties provided an army of recruits for the cause and left Illinois in the borderland between the East and the West. Her large electoral vote made her fair fighting ground for the two sections. Indeed, silver and gold came cheek by jowl in this borderland commonwealth; silver followers sprang up down State, while gold advocates appeared especially among the *nouveaux riches* of the gold coast of Chicago where stood the mansion of Mrs. Potter Palmer, symbol of the "bloated aristocracy."

The year 1890, at which I have chosen to begin this study, found Illinois seething with inarticulate discontent. Hull House was celebrating its first anniversary; a young man whose parents were unsuccessful German immigrants and who himself was never certain of his rules of grammar and spelling was concerning himself with the problems of the laborer and his relation to society; Republicans at Wash-

[5] F. L. Stanton in the Atlanta *Constitution*.

[6] The first post-war objection to contraction of the monetary circulation concerned itself with the greenbacks; the farmers of the inland States objected strenously to the retirement of any part of the more than four hundred million dollars of emergency paper money. The greenback party, born in the nearby State of Ohio, found hearty support from the so-called Independents of Indiana and Illinois in its effort to preserve the inflated life of the "rag babies" of the Civil War. As early as 1874 a Chicago editor said of the existing financial dissatisfaction: "Some financial Henry of Navarre will come to the front, and, sticking a greenback in his hat, instead of a white plume, the cohorts of the people will march from conquering to conquer. . . . Wanted, the Henry of Navarre." [The Chicago *Daily Tribune*, quoted in James Baird Weaver, *Third Party Movements*, (Iowa City, 1916), p. 108.] Much to the disgust of the editor, he came to Illinois twenty-two years later with a silver feather in his bonnet!

The coming of resumption ended the dream of the greenbackers, and, aided by the discovery of silver in the Dakotas and in Colorado, introduced a consistent movement for the free coinage of silver. The Bland-Allison Act and the Sherman silver law were the results. The farmers were not alone in their demand for relief from the economic pressure which was daily becoming more galling; labor also joined the ranks of the dissatisfied. In May, 1886, occurred the memorable Haymarket affair in Chicago, and in late autumn four of the "anarchists" involved were hanged while a mob of sympathetic onlookers sang the *Marseillaise*. Labor's "army of the discontented" had become a reality, but the *great* army of the discontented was just beginning to take form—it arose not from the stirring strains of the *Marseillaise*, but from the grim economic life of native Americans on the plains to the west of the Mississippi.

ington, in order to distract attention from the huge surplus in the Treasury, were endeavoring to convince the farmer that a protective tariff on agricultural products would increase their price; and over the land political cults were springing up with remarkable and alarming rapidity.[7] In June a citizen of Ohio wrote John Sherman that "There is an ugly outlook, the soldiers are mad and swear vengeance. The 'Farmers Alliance' wants to cut a day in two. And the free silver coinage men are ripe for revolt. And there is a movement on foot to combine the three factions and make common cause against the two old partys."[8]

Political lines were wavering; in many States the party in power found its tenure questioned. In the fall elections of 1890 in Illinois seven Republican Representatives were not returned to Congress, and in early 1891 the legislature elected John McAuley Palmer, Democrat, to succeed Charles B. Farwell, Republican. It required no further proof—if proof were needed—than the campaign of 1892 to show that the forces of discontent were stirring in Illinois. Over the farms and into the workshops went John Peter Altgeld, Democratic candidate for the governorship, to shake the hand of the workingman, and his personal appearance increased the effectiveness of his appeal. No stretch of the imagination could encrust him with diamonds or make him desirable conquest for the gold-bugs. He had been so "crude" as to suggest that society had been in part responsible for the "slave girls" who wandered the squalid streets of Chicago and so bold as to say that the manufacturers had been protected in paying starvation wages while the laborer had to *"move on,* and that, too, in many cases by the assistance of policemen's clubs and Pinkerton rifles"![9] He was, therefore, not admired by the cultured of the "gold coast"—nor was he loved by the factory owner.

The November ballots destroyed the already weakened power of the Republicans and for the first time since the Civil War placed a Democrat in the governor's office at Springfield.[10] The election of this foreign-born—and to the conservatives, dangerous—radical to the highest gift within the power of the commonwealth was significant in Illinois politics; it marked the beginning of the actual break between the groups who came to support gold and those who rallied vigorously to the banner of silver. It deprived the former of a much-needed State machine and provided the latter with a consummate leader whose power in the State Democracy for the next four years was complete.

When Altgeld took the oath of office as governor of Illinois, he brought to the capital of the State all the forces of discontent within her borders and, whether he would or not, nurtured them there until they had spent their energies in the great crusade of 1896. Because of his interest in those whose fortunes in life had not been great, he

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[7] See Frank Basil Tracy's article, "The Rise and Doom of the Populist Party," *Forum*, Vol. 16, pp. 240-250.

[8] A. Dewey to John Sherman, June 8, 1890. Sherman MSS.

[9] John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1890), pp. 80-89.

[10] Altgeld was also the first citizen of Chicago to become governor. See *The History of Chicago*, edited by Hon. John Moses and Major Joseph Kirkland (Chicago, 1895).

received as a heritage with his trust the grievances of all those who labored under heavy debts and those who hungered after things which they could not buy. It was inevitable that personal animosities and political conflicts should mark these years. As a liberal, Altgeld was "a boor," "a brute," and "a dangerous anarchist"; but had he been a conservative, he would have been "a gold-bug," "a thief," and "a bloated aristocrat." Liberal or conservative, however, he could have done little to stay the course of events. Illinois lay in the midlands, and the midlands were restless.

The election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in 1892 had much to do with the coming of the silver conflict. Cleveland was a determined gold advocate, and he stoically laid aside the tariff-reform plans of the party and began efforts to repeal the Sherman silver law, which he believed to be burdening the people. But the citizens of inland America were not convinced that silver coinage was responsible for their troubles. They knew what was wrong, for the blind had seen at last; they saw gold-bugs and Shylocks and conspiracies and corruption, and they vowed to destroy the money power which was enshackling them. The determination to tear down the Golden Calf which the unholy East had set up to worship was already fixed in the minds of the Westerners when Cleveland became President on March 4, 1893.

The West, declining to believe the reasons given by the East for the repeal of the silver purchase act, insisted that the idea had been dictated solely by the greedy aristocracy of Wall and Lombard Streets for the purpose of forcing the people of the interior to accept a standard of value which would steal from them their sustenance while it increased the wealth of the "gold barons." The disastrous panic of 1893 had come, the Westerners argued, because of their refusal to obey the order of the Rothschilds to stop demanding silver; they were convinced that it was a deliberate, cold-blooded "squeeze" of the people of the United States in the West and the South in order to bring them again under the domination of England![11] Some of the more radical demanded a new revolution of 1776.

The great West was in earnest. A host of speakers was spread over the country to tell the people of the dangers of the contemplated action at Washington; for months the silver forces prepared for the conflict. On May 20 the editor of the Denver *Daily News* called on all organizations to put their forces into fighting trim because "the time between now and the next meeting of Congress is of momentous importance." The gold-bugs were by perversion of fact and conspiracy deliberately bringing on a panic, continued the editor; "the order has gone forth that credits must be refused to the business men and interests of these [South and West] localities." Charles S. Thomas of Denver accused the Secretary of the Treasury of having deserted the

[11] Every type of source material clearly reveals the belief in the minds of the Westerners of a European-American conspiracy to starve the farmer and laborer by use of the gold standard. On June 29, 1893, the *Rocky Mountain News* carried in leaded type: "England seeking to Regain the Colonies she Lost in the War of the Revolution. The Gold Standard is the method by which the British seek to Enslave the World."

cause of the people, and demanded that he pay his debts in silver dollars which he did not possess. At a silver convention in July, Governor Davis H. Waite of Colorado declared that "It is better, infinitely better, that blood should flow to the horses' bridles rather than our national liberties should be destroyed." Moreover, the "brawny and brainy sons" of Colorado declared that they would not submit to the destiny of poverty without a struggle. "We shall seek to open up new markets and build up our silver industry along new lines and with new and more sympathetic neighbors," they asserted.[12]

The highway that led to the new markets of which the West had begun to dream was the murky Mississippi which forms the western boundary of your commonwealth and flows to the Southland.[13] Illinois, with her strategic position on the new-planned highway and a friendly governor, was needed for the cause. In the early days of August a great silver convention was called to meet in the city of Chicago. According to the editor of the *Rocky Mountain News,* this was to be a great "gathering of the hosts of bimetallism by the lake shore," and much was expected from the "four days and nights of oratory."[14] And, indeed, it was a great "talk-fest" for the representatives of the mine owners, the leaders of the Populists, the officials of the Knights of Labor, and the members of the two old parties in both the South and the West who had been swallowed up by the promises of free silver. Mayor Carter Harrison welcomed the members of this inharmonious group to the "windy city." He reminded them that "while you have been called lunatics so, too, have some of the great men of history been called madmen." Weaver, Waite, Donelly, Stewart, and others were compared to Caesar, Luther, and Columbus, with Napoleon Bonaparte thrown in for good measure!

Joseph Medill, editor of the Chicago *Tribune,* did not like the mayor's estimate; neither did he approve of the declaration of war against England which was made on the floor of the convention hall, and he depicted the denunciation of the "crime of 1873" as but "trying to kill over again a horse long since dead." "The next time they want a convention it will be a long way from Chicago," wrote the editor. "That bloviating old humbug, Governor Waite, could not get blood enough [here] to cover a mouse's tail." [15] The silver advocates in the West promptly boycotted the *Tribune,* and its sales may have dropped in Illinois.

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[12] See the *Rocky Mountain News;* the double-faced broadside issued by the Denver Silver Convention; and Senator Stewart's speech of October 30, 1893, *Congressional Record,* 53 Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 2956-2957.

[13] Past political favors and old alliances, the West believed, would turn that section to her cause. But the South was not, and indeed never became a united section on the question of silver. Only the small farmer, perhaps, was ever thoroughly converted, and his plight was ample excuse for grasping at anything which promised relief from the virtual economic servitude into which he had been forced. See Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Southern Populism," in *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* Vol. XXIX, pp. 77-91.

[14] July 30, 1893.

[15] See the Chicago *Tribune,* August 1-5, 1893.

A few days after this silver convention met in Chicago, the Fifty-third Congress assembled in special session at Washington, and the "great battle of the standards" began with the receipt of the President's message. In spite of plenteous crops, abundant promises for manufacturing, and unusual invitation to safe investments, said the President, "suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side." People who should lend their money were keeping it, he added, and values which were supposed to be fixed were rapidly becoming conjectural. The statement, "I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government," seemed to the silver men evidence that the Chief Executive was allied with the gold-bugs and desired to endanger the prosperity of his country in order to do their bidding. And for him to say that "given over to the exclusive use of a currency greatly depreciated according to the standard of the commercial world, we could no longer claim a place among the nations of the first class"[16] appeared to be proof of the conspiracy which the silver advocates were certain existed.

Many of the Representatives of Illinois were not pleased with the President's message. Congressman Edward Lane of Hillsboro expressed the attitude of many in his State when he declared in the House: "Mr Speaker, my people do not have to consult Chevalier, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, or any other writer on finance in order to understand their condition. They know from personal knowledge that they occupy the garden spot of this whole rich country; that their crops for the last decade have been reasonably abundant, yet their pocketbooks are empty. They have no bank accounts as do the people in the sterile East; and at the end of the year they can scarcely make the tongue and buckle meet."[17] "Honest Old Joe" Cannon, who had just returned to Washington after two years of involuntary retirement at Danville, declared that the President had "for eight long years in office and out of office followed the silver currency of the country with as great ferocity as Herod followed the infant Saviour when he commanded that all children under two years of age should be put to death in order to make sure of the destruction of the Infant King." The "soul-harrowing and tear-compelling picture of the long-suffering and patriotic New York bankers standing in the breach after the manner of Leonidas at Thermopylae and 'holding up the financial system of the country by the neck' " did not appeal to young Champ Clark of the neighboring State of Missouri, and Lane and Cannon were no more pleased.[18]

The silver forces lost in their effort to prevent repeal, and the defeat was not without meaning in Illinois. Many probably agreed with Senator Peffer when he declared that "A great struggle now approaches. ... His horizon is narrow, indeed, who does not see a mighty people rising."[19] Illinois, however, was less insistent upon her

[16] *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 1st Sess., August 8, 1893, pp. 205-206.
[17] *Ibid*, Apex. p. 84.
[18] *Congressional Record*, 53 Cong., 1st Sess, August 22, 1893, p. 637.
[19] *Ibid*, October 30, 1893, p. 2957.

silver desires than were those States to the west of the Mississippi. Contrary to the practice on the far edges of the great plains, no woman here added her signature to the petitions which were sent to Washington, and no business man, perhaps would have at this time used the monetary bitterness as a medium of advertising; but as early as May there had appeared in a Denver paper the following appealing notice:

"A Conspiracy Against Silver Exists in the goldbug houses of Wall Street. The prayer of the people is that their strangling hand may soon be palsied, in which event the silver State will soar to the top notch of prosperity.

But until then Appel & Co. will aim to make it as easy for the people as possible by cutting clothes to the lowest margin."

The silver sentiment was growing, however, and throughout the next three years it increased rapidly as national and State misfortunes added to the burdens of the people. Early in 1894 John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, after vainly trying for a year to keep the gold reserve from melting away, was compelled to sell fifty million dollars of bonds in order to preserve the gold standard.[19a] An increase in the public debt in time of peace for the purpose of maintaining a standard of value which Westerners and Southerners believed to be responsible for their ills caused a large increase in the ranks of the silver party and brought serious embarrassment to the administration Democrats. The Chicago *Times* probably expressed the feeling of many citizens of Illinois when it said: "The House cannot afford to allow Mr. Cleveland to burden the country with another enormous issue of interest bearing bonds. Democratic members, returning to their constituencies and seeking re-election a few months hence, will have to point to a record of vigorous opposition to the president's bond policy or meet defeat. The people of the west and south are paying interest enough on their own debts without having further indebtedness incurred by the government for them to meet. ... It will be wise for the representatives of the people to set themselves firmly in the path of Cleveland and block his lawless course. If they do not the people will be apt to choose representatives who will."[20]

Scarcely had the bond excitement quieted down in Illinois before there appeared a new cause of commotion—the "petition in boots," which started to Washington to present the case of the people to the Chief Executive. Numerous groups of the discontented on the plains of the West seized trains (often with the permission of the crews) and started East. They were joined at Sioux City, Iowa, by others from the new Northwest who had floated down the Missouri on rafts.

[19a] In the years 1890, 1891, and 1892 Congress and the Executive Department fell upon the surplus in the Treasury and entirely dissipated it. When John G. Carlisle came to the head of the Treasury Department in 1893 the gold reserve of $100,000,000 which had come to be regarded as the minimum amount necessary to insure the value of the greenbacks, was practically the only money which the government possessed. The Sherman Silver law was daily adding to the flood of silver money which was surfeiting the country. The gold standard was in danger; Congress would give no relief and Secretary Carlisle eventually elected to sell United States bonds for gold on doubtful authority rather than suffer the consequences of a change in the monetary standard.

[20] May 27, 1894.

The petition actually began to use its boots in Illinois, for in Chicago the strong hand of the law reached out and deprived the supplicants of their new-found means of transportation; and, joined by many citizens of this State, they walked on out toward the far-lying Alleghanies. John H. Randall and his one hundred and fifty Commonwealers of Chicago followed the straggling marchers to Washington and presented a petition for the free coinage of silver, but fortunately escaped the calamity which befell Jacob Coxey, who, said the charges, "did then and there step upon certain plants, shrubs, and turf then and there being and growing" on the grounds of the Capitol. The judge, dominated by "powerful interests," if we are to believe the counsel for the defense, declared a sentence of twenty days and five dollars—demanded, said the counsel, "by those who are in favor of the gold standard."[21]

"As an organized movement," wrote Richard Olney of this social disturbance, "it was remarkable principally for its entire collapse without any serious consequences either to the commonwealers themselves or to the communities visited by them."[22] Society had not, indeed, suffered greatly, but unfortunately neither had it profited from the experience. "The 'industrial armies' are being rapidly resolved into their constituent tramps," said the *Nation* on May 10; but Illinois was still in ferment. On the following day the workers in the shops of the Pullman Palace Car Company went on strike. Again those people who had hurled bitter epithets at the industrial armies demonstrated their lack of understanding of the inequalities of society by condemning the strikers as the "party of lawlessness, of murder, of incendiarism, and of defiance of authority." They pointed with pride to the fact that the Pullman Company "provided houses for its employees, kept up open stretches of lawn, flower beds and lakes," and later refused to believe the actual facts when investigation proved that the "model village" was in some ways little more than a convenient method of extraction and coercion.

Pullman's reputation was not savory. "He has kept spies to watch the women returning from Chicago, to see that no purchases were made out-side of Pullman, and if his mandate was disobeyed, the parties were boycotted forever," wrote R. W. Johnson to the Secretary of State at Washington. "I think that more than Five Hundred people are living around Pullman, whose names are on the boy-cotted list, who could not get work in Pullman under any circumstances, although once .. employees of the concern. ... I know that in the distrubution [sic] of gas to his tenants, he kept a pressure about twice as high as the city companies carried, and would not allow regulators to be placed on the Meters of any tenant because it would reduce the gas bills." The people, continued the writer, "hear of Sugar Trusts, Telephone Trusts, and other Trusts, that are buying up the Legislators

[21] See the Washington papers for the incidents connected with the army at Washington; Donald L. McMurray's *Coxey's Army* (Boston, 1929,) is a carefully prepared study of the various armies.

[22] Unfinished "Autobiography" of Richard Olney, Attorney-General and Secretary of State during Cleveland's second term. Olney MSS.

and Senators and Courts; and believe that the whole money power is combined to crush them and hold them in servitude."[23]

In late June the American Railway Union joined the strikers, and the opinions of the East were somewhat confirmed when, against the wishes of the leaders, the element of lawlessness and violence made its appearance. Governor Altgeld, the *Tribune's* "Dastardly Altgeld," who, according to the Bourbon Democracy, had already allied himself and his "spurious party" with anarchy by pardoning the surviving offenders of the Haymarket murders, protested vigorously against this assumption of power on the part of the national Executive, but "the party of loyalty to the United States" thoroughly approved. "Altgeld is probably as unconscious of his own bad manners as he is of the bad odor of his own principles," wrote the *Nation,* "but boorish, impudent, and ignorant as he is, he can scarcely fail to wince under the treatment which he receives from the President." The same editor characterized Eugene V. Debs as only a dipsomaniac whose excessive drinking had beclouded his mind, while others regarded him as an idiot leading the idiotic. He was, said the Chicago *Tribune,* only a pebble on the shore of time.[24]

Cleveland sent his troops and issued proclamations not because he desired to protect "the idle holders of idle capital," but because he believed that he was obliged to preserve established society; nevertheless, there stalked into Illinois behind the United States soldiers the spectre of free silver. The regulars were encamped down by the stock yards, and the populace laughed as the winds hurled dust into their faces and made sport with the sentry's dignity. But when blood spattered the streets of Chicago, the legions who followed the governor at Springfield increased.[25] It was not only the soldiers who offended the laborers of the city; the judiciary was dragged into the controversy when the injunction came into use. The judges, regardless of their attitude toward the strikers, became the oppressive agents of capitalism; Judge Grosscup wrote Walter Q. Gresham: "I am not prepossessed in favor of this injunction method of repressing violence, and hope that Congress will enact a criminal code to protect inter-State commerce and the mails. It is altogether wrong to call the Judges into the midst of such a turmoil and compel them, apparently, to take sides. It identifies them personally with the one side, and no amount of argument or enlightenment will ever teach the other, that they are not partisans."[26]

Peace came at last to the State, but left a seething political situation. The tariff scandals at Washington and the appearance of *Coin's Financial School* in Chicago added to the silver following. In November Secretary Carlisle sold another fifty million of bonds—for

[23] Johnson to Walter Q. Gresham. Gresham MSS.

[24] July 10, 1894.

[25] The Chicago *Times* vigorously condemned the military, and when General Robbins prohibited the purchase of the paper by the soldiers the editor crisply remarked, "General Robbins is an ass"; his name "will go thundering down the ages like a can of baked beans."

[26] Gresham MSS.

the purpose, the midlands believed, of profiting the group who had supported the troops of the United States when they came to Chicago to shoot down defenseless and hungry workers; this belief was made a certainty when scarcely two months later sixty-two million of bonds were sold privately to J. Pierpont Morgan and August Belmont, "princes of the aristocracy." The West was as ignorant of the reasons for the bond sale as was the East of the causes of the strikes of the previous year, and Western censure was as severe as had been Eastern condemnation of the "forces of anarchy" in Illinois.

The real fight between the gold and silver followers began early in 1895. The year opened with Governor Altgeld laboring at his desk on a biting criticism of the President of the United States; ten days later he delivered it before the legislature, and again those who had and those who had not, aligned themselves in bitter controversy. A few weeks later the silver leaders met at Washington for the purpose of forming a third party. They did this, they declared, because they saw no hope of capturing either of the old organizations,[27] but conditions were already well developed which were soon to throw the controversy into the Democratic party, causing this story of Illinois to concern itself largely with the Democracy in the State.

The Illinois Democracy was not hesitant in declaring its financial principles. If gold was the enemy, then silver was the friend. On April 4 the State Central Committee, under the leadership of W. H. Hinrichsen, Secretary of State, declared for free silver; only one member—there on proxy—dared defend the gold standard. In so far as the State is concerned, there is food for thought in the *Tribune's* statement that there was nothing else for the party to do;[28] the Altgeld machine could not secure the approval of the conservative forces. Old ladies in lorgnettes still shook their heads and repeated more decisively than ever that after all one cannot make "a silk purse out of a sow's ear."

Nine days after the announcement of the State Central Committee, the somewhat silent and bitter struggle that had been in progress in the Democratic party since the beginning of the Cleveland administration broke into open warfare. "Disguise it as we may," wrote the President in a public letter to Henry S. Robbins of Chicago, "the line of battle is drawn between the forces of safe currency and those of monometallism." The great struggle for the control of the national convention in 1896 had begun in earnest;[29] and Illinois, lying in the borderland and possessing forty-eight ballots, was justly regarded as a key State. Weather-wise politicians of the old order who had been willing to tolerate Altgeld in the State House in order that Cleveland might sit at Washington now longed for some method of checking the host who were shouting after him.

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[27] See William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 154-55.

[28] April 6, 1895.

[29] See James A. Barnes, "The Gold-Standard Democrats and the Party Conflict," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 422-450.

Nothing, however, could halt the raging fever of free silver;[30] early in June the happy and perspiring silverites appeared in Springfield to hold a convention. "Gov. Altgeld's officeholders, together with the employes of the Secretary of State, a few hundred disappointed applicants for Federal patronage, aided and abetted by a faction of Democrats who want to get out of the party a lot of the old leaders, are here howling for free silver in anticipation of tomorrow's convention," wrote a correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* on June 4. On the following day the delegates passed resolutions demanding the "free and unlimited coinage of both metals at the ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the action of any other nation," and The *Tribune* writer wired his paper: "A puny baby was born here today. It is a weakling. A five months' young one, and it will of necessity be fed on a bottle. 'Buck' Hinrichsen stands godfather to it and John P. Altgeld is godmother. 'Billy' Bryan gave it his benediction and blessing."

On June 6 Senator John M. Palmer, William S. Forman, and others met in the office of the Senator to discuss some plan of action to save the State from the financial heresy which had apparently captured the party, but they probably misjudged the strength of the silver followers as much as did the *Tribune* correspondent.

Throughout the summer and fall the silver mania increased; the State Democratic machine stretched out into every county and, much to the disgust of the bankers and industrialists, even reached into Chicago and took possession of the gold center. Off the presses of the city came numberless pamphlets; Ebenezer Wakely with his *The Gentile Ass* sought to convince the farmers and laborers that they should at last refuse to carry the burdens forced upon them by the gold of the Hebrews. New lessons came from the fictitious classroom of "Coin" Harvey, and on October 16 the first issue of the *National Bimetallist* appeared. A few weeks later it carried the plea: "ORGANIZE. Now is the time—your city, town or neighborhood the place. The National Bimetallic Union is in the field to stay, and has raised the righteous standard of '16 to 1,' under which may freely gather in full confidence and security, and without partisan feeling or prejudice, all classes and conditions of people, devoted to the support of a common purpose, and the speedy, certain accomplishment of a national necessity. The restoration of silver to its constitutional right as money of the people and equal companionship with gold at 16 to 1 is the only issue before us, and the zealous, determined, well united action of American patriotism will in '96 finally successfully overthrow the despotism of the gold syndicate and give us an administration free from the disloyalty, avarice and cruel disregard for our

[30] The governor added to his following by declaring of the Robbins letter that "it is the first time in the history of the republic in which a president of the United States, after using all of the powers of the government, has in addition condescended to write for the newspapers in order to serve his masters." "Other presidents," he continued, "have been used as a convenience by class interests, but this is the first time in which a president's name was dragged eight hundred miles outside of Washington city for that purpose." Quoted in *American Investments*, VI, p. 247.

sacred institutions, which in their wanton operation are destroying our common comfort and painfully distressing all departments of life outside the conscienceless pathways of the Golden Empire of Wall Street. . . . Our printed instructions are simple, explicit, easily followed and involve little expense. . . . Send for them and call a meeting of your citizens at once, fully determined to enter the field to win."[31]

Free silver lurked everywhere: it went with the farmer on his icy chores this winter of '95, it followed the plow in the springtime, and it rode on the backs of the chinch bugs which came to Illinois in the summer of '96.[32] Thousands sent their dimes and their quarters to the *National Bimetallist* for tie pins, lapel buttons, and cuff links that they might display their financial leanings. Young swains wearing these evidences of patriotism talked boastfully to their timid inland ladies of the successes in store for them when the "bloated money-holders" should be destroyed; dusty farmers condemned the "furrin" conspirators as they swapped "chaws" of tobacco over neighboring fences; and old ladies glibly mixed 16 to 1 with their gossip. The great crusade was shoutingly in progress by the spring of 1896.

Everywhere in the midlands politicians in State and national politics spoke of their duty to the common man and denied their allegiance to party honor. "The time for adherence to party simply because it is 'party' has gone by, and no true, patriotic citizen will admit that principle should not precede party," wrote a friend of silver;[33] and at Washington, Senator Bate of Tennessee declared: "Let every man who is opposed to the rules of monopoly, trusts, and combines; let every man who is opposed to the tyranny of British gold walk out of these two old parties and draw the issue squarely between the people and the common enemies of our country. Let every man join his hand and his heart with the great majority of the American people and combine their votes on the day of election under the people's banner for the people's candidate." And already the "people's candidate" was talking and writing his way into the hearts of the Westerners and Southerners; as early as June 1, 1895, William Jennings Bryan was being urged for the Presidency.[34] Indeed, this orator from the land of the Platte was the driving wedge which was splitting the Democracy in two. He was able to give the silver movement a crusading and humanitarian element which it had previously lacked and, in

[31] Back page display, November 27, 1895.

[32] The local news column of the Chicago *Record* of April 30, 1896, contained the following items: "Mascoutah, Ill., April 29. The long drought which threatened destruction to growing wheat and spring sown crops was broken by heavy showers last night and to-day."

"Greenup, Ill., April 29. A heavy rainfall to-day ended a drought that has been the severest for years. Farmers fear a repetition of last year's wheat failure. Chinch bugs prevail in the greatest numbers ever known at this time of the year."

"Arcola, Ill., April 29. The drought was broken by a drenching rain early this morning. The chinch bug pest which has threatened such damage to crops has been temporarily abated."

[33] George H. Ely of St. Croix Falls, South Dakota, quoted in *National Bimetallist*, May 27, 1896.

[34] Bryan MSS.

addition, to fuse the various unrelated groups into a unity and to inspire them with a consciousness of power and a hope of victory.

At the national capital Cleveland and Carlisle, leaders of the Democracy, were discouraged; the opening months of 1896 brought further burdens. The gold reserve was again about exhausted, and the nation, spurred on by Joseph Pulitzer, was sure that another bond sale to the greedy capitalists was being contemplated.[35] "I have never been so depressed as now in my view of the affairs of my country and my party," wrote the President. "I have never felt so keenly as now the unjust accusations of political antagonists and the hatred and vindictiveness of ingrates and traitors who wear the stolen livery of Democracy." [36] And indeed, throughout these months the "ugly ducklings" who had wandered away from the party fold came trooping back unchanged—with, according to the gold men, a still uglier brood clamoring at their backs. Cleveland's only hope of saving the party was that the South might yet see the error of its ways before July, but the gold followers were everywhere being beaten.

The situation in Illinois is "exceedingly complicated," wrote Calvin Tomkins on March 24, but, he added, "everything is being done there for Sound Money .. that can be done, and the .. cause is in the hands of earnest and practical men." A month later, however, in spite of the donations of "John R. Walsh and other well-to-do friends of Sound Money in Chicago," he was complaining of a lack of funds.[37] W. D. Bynum was greatly discouraged with the outlook in Indiana; and Samuel M. Shaw, editor of the *Freedman's Journal,* wrote from Cooperstown, New York: "I have never seen so dark a day as the present—for our party and the country at large. It all grows out of the silver craze. It, even to a greater extent than you might deem possible, prevails among the Farmers of this State—who are seeing hard times. It looks as though the silver men will have control at Chicago—& that means party disruption."[38] From Kentucky came the lament of a rural editor: "Politics down here has gone mad. Every crank in the country is loose and nothing less than a stone wall will stop them. Four men out of seven are to be made wealthy by a simple twist of the wrist and paupers are to become princes when silver assumes the position it occupied previous to 73 so they say."[39]

The gold advocates knew that if they were to stem the rising tide of free silver in the middle West, vigorous action was necessary; realizing the importance of Illinois, they centered their activities in Chicago with the idea of winning, if possible, the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and perhaps Missouri.[40]. Secretary Carlisle packed his bag and hurried off to Chicago, where, on April 15, he delivered before the

[35] See James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle* (New York, 1931) for details concerning the four bond issues during the second administration of Cleveland.

[36] Cleveland to Don M. Dickinson, Feb. 18, 1896. Cleveland MSS.

[37] Tomkins to Cleveland, March 24 and April 17, 1896. Cleveland MSS.

[38] Shaw to Daniel S. Lamont, April 18, 1896. Lamont MSS.

[39] Emmett Orr, Owenton, Kentucky, to W. C. P. Breckinridge, April 20, 1896. Breckinridge MSS.

[40] W. D. Bynum, Cleveland, and Lamont MSS.

workingmen of that city a sound-money address which Champ Clark has called "the best single Gold Standard speech ever delivered since the world began."[41] With blue-clad policemen scattered liberally throughout the crowd and boisterous silverites watching for an opportunity to scotch his arguments or to question him on past sayings, the Secretary wasted no time in preliminaries, but came directly to the point:

"Whether the general business of the people shall be transacted with good money or bad money, whether the wages of labor shall be paid in a sound and stable currency, with full purchasing power in the markets where they are exchanged for the necessaries of life, or in a depreciated and fluctuating currency, having no fixed value and therefore bearing no permanent relation to the current prices of commodities, are questions which affect the comfort and happiness of every home and the peace and prosperity of every community. While all are deeply interested in the settlement of these questions, it is unfortunately the case that all will not be equally affected by an erroneous decision upon them. The wealthy man, the man who has accumulated property or hoarded money, is always exempt from many of the most serious consequences of a financial or industrial disturbance. He has both means and credit, and while he may be subjected to much loss and inconvenience, neither he nor his family will be pinched by hunger, or compelled to go without raiment or shelter."

For two hours the Secretary continued his arguments. The gold advocates were pleased, and Senator Vilas read the speech into the *Congressional Record.* "Whatever may have been the previous sentiments of those workingmen who were fortunate enough to hear Mr. Carlisle, when they left the Auditorium they were convinced that 50-cent dollars were not the dollars for them, and that to vote to be paid in that sort of money would be to cut their own throats," said the *Tribune.* "His speech is a plain, straight-forward, business-like talk, which will sweep away the falsehoods with which Altgeld, Hinrichsen, and some of the labor demagogues have been deceiving Illinois workers." But the silverites were not moved. "The boxes and a considerable portion of the parquet were well filled with federal office holders, bankers, and other horny-handed sons of toil whose flashing diamonds, spotless linen and fine broadcloth lent eclat to the occasion, and gave a somewhat patrician tinge to an assemblage that might otherwise have been too severely plebian in character," wrote a correspondent of the *National Bimetallist.*[42]

The hostile Chicago *Record* said of Carlisle: "He comes here, fresh from the banquet tables of the Wall street gold bugs to tell the idle and starving workingmen of Chicago how they may be successfully robbed by the gold bugs for the next four years," but editorially admitted that "The plain but powerful arguments of the Secretary aiming to show that free coinage of silver would be disastrous to wage-workers will stand as one of the striking contributions to the great discussion of the year."[43]

The address undoubtedly had a great deal of influence in the city in which it was delivered, but its arguments could not appeal to the

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[41] *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (2 vols., New York, 1910,) I p. 236.

[42] April 29, 1896.

[43] April 16, 1896.

farmers down State. Kenesaw M. Landis wrote at the time: "Some people may tell you this silver matter out here is not serious business when the god's truth is the Democratic party in Indiana & Illinois is wildly insane on this subject. Every fellow who has had a hard time of late has allied himself with the rapscallion element which makes a specialty of taking up with every off color financial and economic proposition that comes along. ... The farmers are especially unruly. They are carrying their wheat and corn and renewing their notes and, I might add, are going 'hell bent for silver.' Judge Grosscup of the Federal court told me last night that more than half of the thirty men from the county who served in his jury at the last term of court were for free silver. And those men were average Northern Illinois men. And in addition to this cheap-debt paying argument let it be remembered that the Western farmer can outass anything on earth. The lightning rod man and the green goods gentleman are still doing business in this neighborhood. I've got a lot of farmer uncles down in Indiana—good honest and intelligent men as honesty and intelligence go at this day—but utterly wild on the money question. You can't do anything with them—just got to let them go."[44]

The average citizen knew little about the arguments involved; he could, however, understand the contention that things "could be no worse," and it needed no great deal of energy to comprehend the statement that "the interests of the man who has a large amount of money and those of one who has none, are generally directly opposed to each other with reference to this [money] question." One individual returned the "complete lesson on silver" which appeared in the special edition of the *National Bimetallist* of March 11 with the comment that he did not want the "cranky paper," and the editor expressed the attitude of many Westerners when he commented: "We are not informed whether the writer is a 'cuckoo' office holder, a national bank president, a member of the Morgan-Rothschild syndicate, or merely some little wise-acre who regards it as a mark of financial accumen [sic] to be in accord with the great bankers and money lenders of the world."

The rapid growth of free-silver sentiment in Illinois brought interesting and complicated politics in the months preceding the convention in 1896. Local officials and the State machine, as was the case in many States, were in opposition to the national plans of the Democracy, and the problem of the party was to secure gold-standard delegates to the national convention. Developments soon proved the task to be hopeless. On April 20 the State Central Committee met in Chicago to select the city for the meeting of the State convention. On the following day the Chicago *Record* announced: "The meeting of the democratic state committee in this city yesterday has taken the Illinois wing of the party another step toward free silver. On the vote as to the location of the convention the gold-standard men, who fought for Springfield, were defeated by a ballot of 22 to 9, and whatever serious contention there may have been between the two fac-

[44] Landis to Lamont, May 23, 1896. Lamont MSS.

tions must have been hushed-up before the conference. There was but little protest to the selection of Peoria. Indeed, with so large a number of silver men in control, the protests would have been useless."[45]

The gold advocates, still hoping to win Cook County, were even now fearful; and there was reason, for the State machine worked silently and effectively. The protest of Senator Palmer and the threats to bolt the party had no effect; the committee of five hundred which the gold men had appointed was powerless to stop the opposing machine. On May 25 primaries were held in Chicago to select delegates to the Cook County convention. On the previous day prominent members of the committee of five hundred had drafted a letter asking the gold advocates to refuse to go to the polls: "We request all democrats who believe in honest primaries and 'honest money' to make no attempt to vote at the 'brace' primaries to be held to-day. To attempt to vote without voting amounts to nothing, and these primaries are arranged to prevent voting. It is generally known that the delegates to the county convention already are chosen and the credentials made out, and that proxies are signed by those delegates who cannot be fully trusted—all before the primaries are held."[46] They objected to sacrificing the party to "a passing craze and to a passing personal domination." Sometime during the evening of election day Judge Lambert Tree of Chicago wrote Don M. Dickinson of Michigan: "The movement to obtain control of the primaries by the honest money men has failed in this county. ... There is not the shadow of a doubt that the free silver men will control the delegation. ... This State has a very bad attack of the Silver Craze."[47]

The silverites won; when the convention met the next day, there was only one negative vote in the chorus of affirmative shouts. The Chicago *Record* declared: "The governor held the convention in the hollow of his hand. His Chairman, A. S. Trude, presided over the assembly; his list of delegates to the state convention was approved

[45] On April 16 W. H. Hinrichsen had written Bryan: "Have just found time to answer your letter. Local conditions prevent our holding our State Convention before the middle of June, but a number of County Conventions will be held about the middle of May and I think before the 20th of May that the result in Illinois will be decided. The action of the county conventions will have very much the same effect as would the action of the State Convention. I think at least 90 of the 102 counties will declare for 16 to 1. We held our Convention in Sangamon County yesterday. This was regarded as gold stronghold, but the convention passed 16 to 1 resolutions by a vote of 125 to 25. We will be all right. I hope you will get things straightened out in Nebraska." Bryan MSS.

[46] See the Chicago *Record*, May 25, 1896, for copy of the letter which was distributed over Chicago in handbill form. Franklin MacVeagh, Thomas A. Morgan, Henry S. Robbins, Theodore Oehne, and A. W. Wright signed the letter.

[47] Tree to Dickinson, May 25, 1896, Cleveland MSS. The judge further added: "There is a good deal of wild talk amongst a few men here about a bolt, which has culminated in a manifesto this morning looking in that direction, but I see no sense in it as nothing could be accomplished by it in the face of the regularity of the proceedings of the constituted authorities of the party of the State. I confess I don't like this word bolt, as an old line democrat who has marched a life time under the democratic banner. 'Better bear the ills we have than fly to those we know naught of.'"

with a unanimous yell; the resolutions which he wrote with his own hand were returned by the committee in the original manuscript, without so much as a changed punctuation mark." After shouting themselves hoarse the delegates denounced "the concerted movement of the plutocrats of the world to establish a single gold standard," declaring that "Any system which increases the difficulty of getting [money] will saddle upon the masses of the world a slavery more oppressive than any known since the French Revolution and establish a condition in which the toiler shall be without hope for himself or for his children."[48]

An editor truthfully depicted the county convention in the statement: "The programme of the leaders was carried out with neatness and precision. Though the democracy of Cook county may be rent with dissension, inside the convention walls all was harmony." And so it was over the State; from Chicago, down the rolling prairies across the Sangamon, and on to Cairo the county conventions declared for free silver. The cause met with similar success in the States of the South and the West; it was reasonably certain several months before the Democratic National Convention that silver would win. The action of the Illinois Democracy destroyed the last vestige of hope in the hearts of the most optimistic.[49]

The Democratic State convention met at Peoria on June 23. The governor and Mrs. Altgeld arrived some days before the opening and registered at the National Hotel, and Chairman "Buck" Hinrichsen followed close on their heels. The city was crowded. "Uncle Horace" Boies of Iowa and "Uncle Dick" Bland of Missouri were "making faces at each other in the rotundas of the hotels." "Their advance agents," said a reporter, "have papered the town with their lithographs and where one is the other is opposite." S. A. Brewster of Creston, Iowa, "appeared in Peoria with all his pockets bulging with Boies buttons, a grip full of Boies badges, and both arms overflowing with Boies lithographs. The first thing he did was to call on governor Altgeld and give him a Boies button. ... J. W. Farris, a lawyer of Lebanon ... entered Peoria almost as soon as Mr. Brewster did, and he, too, saw Gov. Altgeld the first thing. He, too, gave Gov. Altgeld a button, but it had Bland's face on it instead of Boies'. The governor accepted it, listened to all Mr. Farris had to say, told him that Uncle Dick Bland was a very good man and a fine old democrat and Mr. Farris came downstairs with hope in his eyes and both hands full of Bland buttons."[50] But Bland and Boies were not the only presidential candidates in evidence; William M. Teller hung on the fringes of the crowd, and Bryan was not unrepresented.

The convention got under way at last. The opening prayer was applauded. "What Moses shall arise and lead us out of the land of Egypt?" asked A. H. Bell, the first speaker, and a chorus shrieked,

[48] Chicago *Record*, May 26, 1896.

[49] The gold advocates had despaired months before of writing the platform, but they had hoped to prevent a silver nomination by the two-thirds rule.

[50] The delegates from the southern section of the State apparently favored Bland, while those from the northern part supported Boies.

"Uncle Dick Bland!" while from the delegates of Cook County came the cry, "Boies, Boies!" "Four years ago," continued the speaker, "we nominated a man from New York in defiance of the wishes of the delegation from that state and may God forgive us for it." The applause was tremendous, but no greater than that which broke out a few minutes later when Governor Altgeld heaped bitter condemnation upon the administration at Washington. The members of the convention knew what they wanted; it took just five hours and two minutes of working time to nominate a full State ticket, adopt a free-silver platform, elect forty-eight free-silver delegates, and tie them to the white metal by the unit rule. There were no bolts and few protests; all motions were carried by acclamation.

The silver forces were hopeful as the National Convention approached. The results of the Republican convention at St. Louis did much to give them new courage. As early as April 23 a Chicago paper had put into the mouths of the McKinley leaders: "If we can carry the Cullom fortress and water our warhorses in the Sangamon we shall be ready to march on St. Louis."[51] And, indeed, when the Ohioan arrived in the Missouri metropolis in mid-June, he left in his wake the blasted hopes of many a favorite son. With the words, "Let us Prey"—so said the *National Bimetallist*—the Republicans declared for gold and oppression, and the silver forces redoubled their efforts to win the Democracy to their cause.

Regardless of beliefs to the contrary, the silverites had recognized leaders and an effective pre-convention machine. Long before the Democratic National Convention met, political straws were pointing toward William Jennings Bryan as the candidate of the party. He had powerful opponents, but none possessed his peculiarly fitting qualities. "Uncle Dick" Bland was strong because he had fathered the silver movement, but he could not inspire his offspring; "Uncle Horace" Boies had not always been a Democrat, and he was not allowed to forget that fact; John Peter Altgeld was entirely disqualified because of his German birth; and however hopeful others may have been, they had little to support them.

Although Governor Altgeld doubted Bryan's strength as a presidential candidate, the Nebraskan had many friends in Illinois.[52] After a visit from him the editor of the *National Bimetallist* said, "We are inclined to the opinion that Mr. Bryan would rather like to be the candidate, although he is a little shy in saying so."[53] In late April, F. Regnier of Monmouth addressed to the chairman of each Democratic county committee the following letter: "In my opinion we cannot

[51] Senator Shelby M. Cullom was the leading Republican candidate in Illinois.

[52] On June 12 Altgeld wired Bryan: "Since seeing you I have canvassed presidential situation. Find everywhere great admiration for you but an almost unanimous sentiment that you are not available for president this time. All feel you should be in New cabinet if we succeed. Now situation looks dangerous because of possible division among silver men. We must practically nominate before convention meets or we may yet be defeated. The enemy will try to divide and conquer. I would like to have consultation and will pay expenses if you could run over." Bryan MSS.

[53] Vol. I, p. 526.

fight on the old lines with hope of triumph at the end, but must adopt such radical remedies for existing evils as tend to the restoration of the basis of exchange, or measure of value, as was in use during all of the most prosperous years in the life of this nation; and our standard-bearer must be a man of positive convictions, especially upon bimetallism—a man who has expressed himself in such unequivocal language in favor of free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 that there is no possibility of his position being misunderstood. He should also be a Western man. I do not think we can offer in our National Convention as a candidate for the presidency from this State such a man; but in the person of Hon. W. J. Bryan of Nebraska, we can offer a native-born Illinoisan, who possesses all the attributes to be desired in a Democratic president, and is with the people and for the people in their struggle for the restoration of their stolen right."[54]

But Bryan did not depend upon the work of his friends alone; through persistent and laborious efforts he built up a machine which has, perhaps, never been exceeded in pre-convention politics. A study of his papers reveals the fact that he wrote every State chairman before each State convention, and afterwards requested the names and addresses of all delegates to the national convention. To these State chairmen he sent copies of the platform of the Nebraska Democracy, asking that it be adopted in their State meetings. Every silver delegate knew before he started for Chicago exactly on what ground he stood; his mind was bent on only one thing—the free coinage of silver "without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth."[55] When, three days after the Fourth of July, the silver forces, jubilant and expectant, moved on to Chicago to do battle for "the money of the common man," William Jennings Bryan was more than hopeful.

It is needless to recount the events of the Democratic National Convention; it met at Chicago on July 7. The night before, the unofficial gold delegates who had come "for moral effect" hissed the name of Illinois' governor in the parlors of the Auditorium Hotel. The next day the silver forces milled through the convention hall, but they were not leaderless and unorganized; there is truth in the *Tribune's* statement that "over all hangs the shadow of .. Altgeld" with sixteen to one at his back. For the first time in convention history college tactics made their appearance as partisans attempted concerted yells for Bryan and Bland, but they were done so poorly that one member of the good old school laconically remarked that "They'd do a good deal better if they'd just cut loose and yell promiscuous."[56]

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[54] Copy in Bryan MSS.

[55] The Bryan papers show the effectiveness of his appeals. His correspondence, moreover, shows that he was constantly in touch with the situation in every State.

[56] Two favorite yells were:

Rah, rah, ree!
Ne-bras-kee!
Rah, rah, rah!
O-ma-ha!
Will-yum J. Bry-an, Hoo-rah!

Rah, rah, rah!
Silver Dick Bland!
Silver Dick,
Silver Dick,
Richard Parks Bland!

In due time there came the "cross of gold" and the "crown of thorns," but "the man of the ages" was not born Minerva-like in Illinois' great metropolis. The split in the party and the nomination of Bryan constitute one of the most skilfully planned and carefully executed "accidents" in American party politics. The glowing oratory at Chicago was most important, perhaps, in distracting attention while the Nebraskan pulled the cloak of respectability over a babel of political faiths and gave the name Democracy to what was essentially a third party.[57]

The Democratic nomination confirmed the prediction which the midlands had been making for three years—that the major issue of the campaign of 1896 would be whether the nation would have silver or gold. The definite decision, however, brought further confusion to Illinois politics; many bolted their former parties, but some preferred to wander in lonely political woods, for gold with high tariff or silver with free trade made a bitter concoction to the fastidious palates of old-line politicians. On July 11 Roswell Miller, president of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, wrote from Chicago to a friend in the East: "What an unfortunate condition we are in as to National Politics! It will need a vigorous effort and a combination of all who don't want the country ruined to prevent it. I fear you Eastern people don't appreciate the popular strength of the Free Silver craze—I don't like to believe it will win, but I am scared. It is pretty tough to ask a democrat to vote for McKinley—(I don't like to do it myself) but it is a choice of two evils, and an Independent Sound Money Democratic ticket at this time will simply give the election to the Populistic element."[58]

The selection of Altgeld as the Democratic nominee for the governorship made it impossible for some who would otherwise have reluctantly voted for Bryan to do so. In late September, George R. Wendling wrote Colonel Morrison: "I have made up my mind not to vote for Altgeld or Bryan. I cannot vote for McKinley. I never have voted for Palmer for anything and never will, so I reckon I am 'lost in the shuffle.' I have, however, one very definite desire: I want to see Illinois defeat Altgeld. I like Bryan, always have liked him, he is as honest as daylight, but being honest, he will pay his debts to Altgeld, Tillman, Stone, Peffer, Cyclone Davis, and that crowd, and that will bankrupt him and the Country, therefore I shall not vote for him." [59]

A few weeks later Morrison replied that "anything but Bryan means McKinley and it takes a pluckier man than I am to commence voting the Republican ticket at my time of life. Of course too, I do not fail to recognize the fact that Bryan must surround himself with out-

[57] It is true that Bland led on the first three ballots, but he had not the power to win a sufficient number of votes to nominate him; many of those who had voted for him on these three ballots did so out of respect for the man who had fathered the silver cause and not because of any enthusiastic desire to have him for a candidate.

[58] Miller to Daniel S. Lamont. Lamont MSS.

[59] This letter was written after the nomination of Palmer on the gold-Democratic ticket.

laws and out-casts to some extent, but even in this view it is a choice between out-lawry and skilled, trained and organized plunder. ... The truth is it is much easier to find reasons for voting against everything in sight, than to find anybody to vote for. In this condition of things it was my purpose to remain quietly at home until election day, vote for Bryan and make it easier by voting against an exceptionally mean devil or two on his ticket."[60] "I cannot vote for any man loaded with such bitterness toward the head of our great American nation," wrote John Fergusen of Odell.[61]

But regardless of the political troubles in both the State and the nation the great crusade got under way. The campaign centered in the Ohio and upper-Mississippi valleys. Bryan gave the major portion of his time to these two regions and made more speeches in Illinois than in any other State. He stopped off at Chicago in early August and was introduced to the more than fifteen thousand people "who filled Monroe Street from east of Wabash Avenue to west of State Street" with the words: "Among the many thousands who greet you to-night are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. These are they who produce all the honest wealth of the country. Among them are hundreds of noble, courageous men, who have felt their little children tugging at their coattails for bread that they could not give them because they could not find work. None of those drones of society who produce nothing but laws and panics are here to honor you. Not one of that class who arrogate to themselves the holy name of leading citizens, and who form trusts to control the necessaries of life, will be found in this vast assembly. None of those toadies who think it is stylish to be called gold bugs is here to-night."

Bryan, on his way to plead at the rich man's table in the East, appreciated the words all the more, he said, because the chairman "though a republican heretofore, is a patriot to-day." Bryant Webb, "Boy Orator of Illinois," fifteen years old, who bore a striking resemblance to "Coin" Harvey, "then sang a silver song to the tune of Marching Through Georgia."[62]

FREE SILVER, ILLINOIS
Words by G. Charles Griffiths
Air: "Baby Mine"

I.

In the fight that we are making,
Illinois, Illinois!
There's no time for coward quaking,
Illinois, Illinois!
For a principle to-day,
We are standing in array,
Illinois will go our way—
Illinois, Illinois!
Illinois will go our way,
Illinois!

[60] Morrison MSS.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *National Bimetallist*, August 12, 1896, pp. 681-682. The poets and the troubadours were indeed plentiful in this campaign.

II

For free coinage we are fighting,
Illinois, Illinois!
And a ratio we're uniting,
Illinois, Illinois!
'Tis no time for making terms
With the Wall Street money firms,
Even though the gold bug squirms,
Illinois, Illinois!
Even though the gold bug squirms,
Illinois!

III

The Republicans have spoken,
Illinois, Illinois!
And McKinley is their token,
Illinois, Illinois!
He is one idea long,
And that one idea's wrong,
And to him you don't belong,
Illinois, Illinois!
And to him you don't belong,
Illinois!

IV

But Democracy will give thee,
Illinois, Illinois!
The right candidate to please thee,
Illinois, Illinois!
There is Bryan, Boies or Bland,
Or mayhap some other hand;
But by silver he must stand,
Illinois, Illinois!
But by silver he must stand,
Illinois!

V

Brave John Altgeld bears our banner,
Illinois, Illinois!
And defeat awaits John Tanner,
Illinois, Illinois!
For the boodlers all must go
To the land where it don't snow;
Honesty will have a show,
Illinois, Illinois!
Honesty will have a show,
Illinois!

—From *The National Bimetallist,* July 1, 1896, p. 594.

The silver following spurred the gold advocates to action; they met in convention at Indianapolis on September 2. General John M. Palmer of Illinois and General Simon Bolivar Buckner of Kentucky,

respectively Unionist and Confederate, western and southern border-State representatives, were chosen to lead the party. The National Democrats, as they chose to call themselves—and the courts sustained them in their contention—said of their party: "We are the Democrats and they are the bolters. ... [Our Democracy] was not breathed first across the plains of Nebraska. It speaks to-night from the tomb at Monticello, and the grave at the Hermitage."[63] Landis wrote a friend on September 22: "You would laugh yourself sick could you see old Palmer. He has actually gotten it into his head that he is running for office."[64] But the greatest hope of the gold-Democrats was to draw enough votes from Bryan in the border States to throw the election to McKinley. Indeed, the two old parties united their energies and their money in a desperate effort to cover the midlands with a multitude of pamphlets and to assail the voters with a legion of speakers. The Republicans furnished some of the money which carried forward the ticket of Palmer and Buckner.

As election day approached, it was apparent to all that the silver cause was rapidly losing its former strength. As early as September 2 Roswell Miller had written from Chicago: "The free silver sentiment in these states began to wane the latter part of July, and is still waning. I think the sound money cause will have the support of practically all the business element and the larger part of the labor element. The free silver strength is greatest among the farmers, but not so strong as it was."[65] In the last few weeks of the campaign the silverites turned in many instances to violence, and many who had been undecided thereupon swallowed their prejudices and voted for McKinley. On election day the citizens of Illinois clearly expressed their preference for the gold standard and their disapproval of Altgeld, and the Republican party returned to power again in both State and national politics.[66]

The grief of the midlands at the result was real; men, women, and children by the thousands sent their letters to Lincoln, Nebraska. Governor Altgeld, tired and worn by the campaign, wrote the defeated candidate on November 9: "You have done a work for humanity which time will not efface and while we were not able to batter down all the fortified strongholds of plutocracy and corruption in our fight I am convinced that another assault will drive them from the land."[67]

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[63] Announcement made at the notification meeting at Louisville. Typed proceedings in the collection of William D. Bynum of Indianapolis, chairman of the National Gold-Democratic Committee; see also the Henry Watterson MSS. for details concerning the gold-Democratic convention.

[64] Lamont MSS.

[65] Lamont MSS.; in early September J. R. Sovereign established a campaign labor bureau in Chicago in an effort to hold the labor vote for silver. All organizations were equally respected, and every member was urged to contribute toward the expense of mailing literature to laborers. "I desire," announced Sovereign, "to place one hundred or more labor speakers in the doubtful territory and open communication with the working people. Let us meet the enemy on its own field and steer the ship of state from the rocks of monarchy and despotism."

[66] See chapter on "The Great Crusade" in Barnes' *John G. Carlisle.*

[67] Bryan MSS.

On the same day a youth wrote from Bradbury:

"Dear Friend

I thought I would right you a few lines to let you know that I am sorrow of your defeat I was built up in hope of you being elected for President and could not give up that you was defeated till Friday night when I seen in the paper that you had given up and I took off my free silver badge and laid it away till 4 years from now I hope that you will run again for President and be elected I cannot give up till I see you safe in the President chair at Washington D C and I hope that you will serve to terms and I will get to vote for you I am 14 years old ...

yours from
George Welch
to
William Bryan

A citizen of Missouri had carved on his tomb the admonition: "Kind friends I've left behind, Cast your vote for Jennings Bryan."[68]

But the great crusade was over, for the free-silver cause evaporated before the old century could count off its few remaining years. The millions who had enlisted in the dramatic conflict had reasons enough, and their labors were not without results. The six and one-half million people who voted for Bryan were not fools,[69] and neither were the seven million who cast their ballots for McKinley thieves and robbers. It seems now a rational statement to say that the condition of the Westerner in these years was worse than is commonly believed, and that the actions of the Easterner were prompted by far less selfish motives than those with which he is credited. The citizens of the midlands still look back with pleasure upon this well-fought battle, and even the nation thrills to the song of your poet:

"Where is that boy, that Heaven-born Bryan,
That Homer Bryan, who sang from the West?
Gone to join the shadows with Altgeld the Eagle,
Where the kings and the slaves and the troubadours rest." [70]

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[68] Bryan MSS.

[69] A few days after the election the *Nation* remarked: "We have escaped from what a large number of people supposed was an immense danger, the danger of having our currency adulterated and our form of government changed, and a band of ignoramuses and Anarchists put at the head of what remained of the great American republic," [November 5, 1896, Vol. 63, p. 337.] while the editor of *Harper's Weekly* declared that "Among the minor results of the election, one of the happiest is the apparent extinction of Altgeld. Upon the whole he has been quite the most dangerous enemy to American institutions of all the ruffianly gang which has broken out of the forecastle of the ship of state and attempted to occupy the quarter-deck and seize the helm. . . . Altgeld is an almost solitary example of a successful man who resorts to the cave of Adullam to herd with the discontented." [November 21, 1896, Vol. XL, p. 1139.] Nevertheless, Bryan remained a power in the Democracy for many years, and Altgeld is justly regarded as one of Illinois' outstanding governors.

[70] From "Bryan, Bryan, Bryan," in *Collected Poems* by Vachel Lindsay.

EARLY MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN ILLINOIS.

W. D. Armstrong, *President, Madison County Historical Society*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It gives me much pleasure to meet with you this afternoon and present for your consideration a subject in which we are all most interested, one which played an important part in forming the early cultural tastes in our State.

I assume that I was asked to speak to you of the "Early Music and Musicians of Illinois" because I am a native born Illinoisan and served for some years as President of the Illinois State Music Teachers Association, President of the Public School Music Teachers Association and Vice President of the National Music Teachers Association and have been personally connected with some of the composers—performers and teachers who laid the first foundations of our musical life.

The Illinois Musicians may be divided into two groups, those born in the State and those who have either lived at one time or another in the State, or have adopted it as their place of residence. Of the former there are few, of the latter many.

In order to understand the condition of music as found by our early musicians, it will be well to mention some historical facts.

The Puritans were quite strict in their usage of Church Music. Certain rules were laid down and these adhered to closely. The singing of the Psalms to special tunes was allowed but other forms of music forbidden. Gradually with the coming of different nationalities to this new land, their customs and manners were introduced and slowly accepted.

The visit of John Wesley to America, and with the development of the conversional form of religion, a new expression was given to Church Music. He brought with him the tunes and poetry of England, melodious, rhythmical and attractive. These poems seem rather peculiar to our twentieth century way of thinking, however they had their influence over the people.

I will quote from the Bay Psalm Book:

"For thence he shall come to judge,
All men both dead and quick,
I, in the Holy Ghost believe,
In the Church Catholicke."

From another source in an old American hymn book:

"But if you will refuse us,
We bid you all farewell;
We're on the road to Canaan,
You're on the road to hell.

From two directions music entered our State. First, from the East by people coming to the Mississippi valley by the way of the Great Lakes, Ohio and Indiana. Second, by people coming to the Northland from Kentucky and Tennessee; bringing their own type of song.

These innovations were felt mostly where the itinerant preacher made his rounds. He was also called a "circuit rider."

One of the most famous of these men was Peter Cartwright. So much has been written about him that it is almost presumptuous to refer further to his many peculiarities and startling idiosyncrasies, however another story will only add to his already extended biography.

While Peter Cartwright was not a musician, he could "carry a tune" and insisted that if possible, there should be some singing at his public gatherings and always carried his music books in his saddlebags.

There were no pianos or organs, so the pitch was given on the violin or flute, the first tone was all that was permitted. The Puritans had such a rule, where only the bass viol could be used, so we see how this custom was transferred to the West.

On one occasion when Brother Peter was holding revival services in a log cabin near the present site of Jacksonville, a number of young people who came to hear the singing and not over religiously inclined, planned to play a prank on him.

In the audience was a faithful sister who besides tipping the scales at near three hundred pounds, had the unfortunate faculty of going to sleep while on her knees during the long prayers, and not being able to rise to her feet without some assistance, would sink to the floor until help arrived.

Her favorite petition was "O Lord, ride your white horse through this congregation," repeating it over and over. This suggested an idea to the mischief makers. A neighbor had a white horse. Robing one of the party in a white sheet riding on the horse, at a given signal the lights were blown out and the procession moved in stately order down the center aisle. It is said that every member suddenly disappeared either by the windows or doors, and only the three hundred pound sister remained, who in the excitement had managed to roll over on her back, helpless. When the confusion had subsided, some one asked her why she was not ready for the white horse? She replied, "Well, not just at that time, a little later."

In many of the churches the introduction of the organ and singing almost disrupted the congregation. The last to capitulate was in Calhoun County after a long drawn out controversy. So through many trials and vicissitudes church music came into its own.

Another missionary came into the Middle West in the form of The Singing School Teacher, or District Singing School Master. These men made their yearly visits from the eastern states, bringing with them not only musical culture, but educational and literary ideals which made lasting impressions.

The singing school was a New England institution, originated by Lowell Mason, the father of American Church music, and his associates.

At the first their efforts were productive of uncertain results as our music lacked the technical and scientific backgrounds of the old world. To overcome this deficiency, Lowell Mason made a trip to Europe and brought back with him the best Master Music and adapted it to our poetry—then hymn singing was placed on a firm basis.

These singing teachers would come to a community—organize their class, sell their song books and begin a course of instruction lasting from twelve to sixteen weeks. At the end of the session they would present a grand concert and give an exhibition of their skill. If the class was well advanced, they would essay a cantata or oratorio and this was a most important affair, particularly for the singing master, who assumed high dignity and led his singers to victory.

Besides being an organization for musical advancement it was a most successful matrimonial bureau and not a few of our pioneers met their mates at the "District Singing School." The pupils were taught to read the notes correctly, to become acquainted with religious poetry and in this way to appreciate and interpret good music.

The late W. T. Norton one time vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, wrote the following: "The progress of musical culture in the Middle West has kept pace in its development with literature, science and art. To the western wilds in the early days, came the more progressive and enterprising citizens of New York, New England and Pennsylvania, seeking wider opportunities. There also came a strong element of immigrants from Europe who sought individual development in exchange for national efficiency. Naturally the two preceding generations were absorbed mainly with material concerns: the breaking of the prairie; the felling of the forest, the building of railroads and the founding of cities. They acquired wealth and position but had not all the time they desired to devote to the higher things of life. But this lack of opportunity for cultural development, along artistic lines, made them all the more eager that their children should enjoy the advantages denied to them. They founded and endowed schools of music, art and literature, rivaling in their advantages the older institutions of the East. They cheerfully taxed themselves to establish state normal schools and universities. No expense was spared in equipping these institutions and in providing them with instructors of superior ability. Illinois, the imperial state of the West, led in all these advances making it the center of learning and culture. Out of these conditions has arisen a generation of cultivated men and women, a bright galaxy of authors, artists, musicians and composers. Chief among these are the composers because they are not merely skilled interpreters of other men's works but they are creators and discoverers. They rank with the great inventors and scientists who have enriched and advanced the world by their genius. Their creations are not the ephemeral things of a day but soar to a higher plane, to a realm above the material where beauty and light are enthroned, and the longings of the great soul are satisfied. Consider the compositions of the great masters of the past that have come down through the centuries, still as grateful to the senses as when first given to the world. And in them the great composers still live in eternal youth. There is an earthly

immortality as well as a heavenly one and by this token none of the great composers have ever died. They live on and on in the works they have left behind them. Some of them lived on earth ahead of their time and were only appreciated after they had passed from the sight of an untoward generation, but they lived again after the world had grown up nearer to their level. David, the "sweet singer of Israel," still lives in the psalms and spiritual songs that have come sounding down the ages."

With the up-building of Chicago, Jacksonville, Springfield, Peoria, Rock Island, Alton, Cairo and other cities came the demand for the visiting artist. Rubinstein, Gottschalk and other public performers visited these communities and awakened an interest in music. Then came the Civil War. For a time there was a cessation of all musical activities and up to this period nothing had been accomplished of any value in the way of musical composition. After the war, the above mentioned artists, with others visited Illinois, and with the establishment of schools of music in different quarters, there settled at this point foreign teachers, and these, together with the local musicians, formed the first nucleus of the musical life of Illinois.

In the front rank of the musical profession, Mr. Emil Liebling is readily accorded a foremost place, as well as through the scope and breadth and many-sided characteristics of his musical skill and knowledge, as by the brilliancy of his performance as a piano virtuoso. He was born in Pless, Germany, in 1857, and is one of four brothers, all distinguished in the musical life. Emil Liebling came young to America, and engaged for several years in teaching in schools and colleges. His intellectual mold was such that, as stated in Freund's Music and Drama, he soon "acquired the thorough American adaptability characteristic of the best order of German minds only." When he had attained a position that enabled him to devote time to higher training, he went to Berlin, where for several years he engaged, in part, in study under Kullak, Ehrlich and Liszt, and in part, teaching the piano in Kullak's Conservatory of Music. Here he acquired the friendship of such distinguished artists as W. H. Sherwood, Scharwenka, Moszkowski, Sternberg and others, and moved in an atmosphere admirably adapted to elevate and enlarge a musical mind naturally gifted toward the highest plane of art. Nor was his culture confined to the art of music alone; he acquired literary attainments of a high order, and is not only an accomplished linguist but a graceful, fluent, and forcible writer, who, in contributions to American musical journals, has proved himself a competent critic, of well balanced and judicial judgment and an infallible instinct of recognition for true art, as distinguished from superficial shallowness or mere pretense: he is known as a musical reviewer, as implacably merciless towards the latter, as considerate and encouraging toward the former. On returning to Chicago in 1876, he astonished and delighted the musical circles by the refinement of a technique always brilliant and resourceful, the intelligence and poetry of his interpretations and the rare power, which he possesses to a simply marvelous degree, of adapting himself with equal facility and perfection to either the classical or modern schools of piano music.

Of Bach he is one of the most perfect exponents of his day, interpreting the master's compositions, not only with conscientious fidelity and unequaled skill, but elucidating the spirit and motive of the music with an intelligence and power not often witnessed. And yet he could turn to Liszt, and with equal mastery portray the spirit and brilliancy of that master with a vividness and superb effect not excelled by the highest representatives of this school. In every epoch of piano music he was equally at home, and whether it be Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann or Mendelssohn, he enters into and identifies himself with the emotional content of the subject, and infuses into the instrument the very spirit of the composer. He added the highest fluency of finger technique, and unerring musical instinct and a refined, artistic sensibility. His recitals have become musical events of the best order, and cover a remarkably wide range of works, including nearly everything from Moszkowski, Scharwenka, Tschaikowsky, Sgambatti and Saint-Saens, as well as Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Chopin, which he plays without notes, and as that discriminating critic, Mr. Matthews, says, "with the genuine ease that belongs only to a master." He has also a brilliant record in chamber music.

His public work was extensive, embracing concerts in Berlin, where he was eulogized by the most conservative critics, in Steinway Hall, New York, and other cities since 1877, with Theodore Thomas in orchestra, with Wilhelmj, the violinist, and a vast amount of work in Chicago, where he enjoyed unlimited popularity in cultured circles, and especially in the best walks of musical life. Mr. Liebling has exercised a very active and important influence in developing musical taste upon higher lines, and extending the knowledge and appreciation of the best forms of music by his masterly exemplification of its power and beauty. As a composer he has won distinction and has the capacity to perform, as we may fairly anticipate, distinguished services in the future for the elevation of American creative art.

His compositions include: Florence, Valse de concert; Meteore galop; Feu Follet; Albumblatt, a Gavotte Moderne for the piano, a collection of scales, and a song entitled, Adieu.

All of Mr. Liebling's brothers are distinguished as pianists. Mr. Max Liebling has been for many years a prominent accompanist and conductor in New York, whence he has gone out from time to time with concert companies. His brother Saul is a brilliant concert pianist with a high European reputation. He was much esteemed by Liszt. A still younger brother, George, has an enormous repertoire and a phenomenal technique. He has made several highly successful concert tours in Europe.

William Lewis, of Chicago, was a concert player in the days when the standard was lower than now, and his story is the interesting one of the self-made American boy, who by his own exertions makes himself master of one of the most difficult arts in practical music, that of the higher playing of the violin—since for its proper performance it needs mature and refined perceptions of harmonic relations, to the farthest extent that modern composers go, and a taste for and understanding of art of singing in its highest application, namely, to melodies

of the most refined and poetic kind. Mr. Lewis was born in Devonshire, England, in 1837. His parents moved to Ohio, near Cleveland, when he was still a boy, but he had become a very good violinist before leaving England. They being farmers, William had to plow corn, and pursue other rural occupations not to his liking, for he would be a violinist. It happened one summer that the "Black Swan" was to sing in Cleveland upon a certain evening; this concert was the goal of the aspiring boy's hope. He thought of it by day and dreamed of it by night. At length the day came near, and one afternoon the desperate lad hitched the team in a fence corner, and went across lots to the depot where he got upon a freight train to go to Cleveland. He succeeded in working his way, and arrived in Cleveland without friends or money. Dressed in his farm clothes he went to the hotel where Colonel Wood, the manager of the colored singer, was stopping, and introduced himself and stated his wishes. Wood sent out for a violin and made him play for him then and there. The boy's talent was so evident that he bought him a suit of clothes, and had him play a solo that night and the next. He then sent him home with $20.00 in money. The sight of the money pacified the irate father, and from that time the boy was free to follow his inclination. It would take long to recount his after-career, as orchestra player in Chicago, solo violinist in various concert companies, dealer in musical instruments, and the like, but it would be unfortunate to lose sight of two points in his record, which deserve to distinguish him honorably on the rolls of fame. The first is his activity as director of chamber concerts in Chicago, where, in connection with various musicians, but especially Carl Wolfsohn, Mr. Liebling and Agnes Ingersoll, he maintained some of the most important series of chamber concerts given in the city. His other greatest point is his record as teacher; he also wrote some small violin pieces. Among the many talented pupils he has had who have occupied important positions, no one reflected higher honor upon him than the most accomplished player, Maud Powell.

At the head of the piano department of the Chicago Conservatory stood for many years an artist who was not only one of America's most celebrated pianists, but also an artist of recognized eminence in Europe as well. William H. Sherwood was a native American, born in Lyons, N. Y., January 31, 1854, his father, Rev. L. M. Sherwood, M. A., being a cultivated musician, and the founder of the Lyons (N. Y.) Musical Academy.

In early boyhood he evinced a remarkable talent for music, and received very careful training from his father, by which he profited so well that between the ages of nine and eleven he made frequent public appearances in New York, Pennsylvania and Canada, attracting much attention both by the skillfulness of his playing and the precocity of his genius. From 1866 to 1871 he was partly occupied with teaching in his father's school, but mainly devoted to the acquisition of a literary education, though designing music as his permanent profession. In 1871 he became the pupil of Dr. William Mason, at the time holding a normal institute in Binghampton, N. Y., but in the fall of the same year, by Mr. Mason's advice, he placed himself under the instruction

of Kullak, at Berlin, also studying theory and composition under the renowned theorist Carl Friederich Weitzmann. So rapid was his advance that within seven months he was one of those selected to play at Kullak's annual concert at the Singakademie, where he executed Chopin's Fantasia in F Minor with such skill as to elicit great applause. Among others who took part in this event were such pianists as Scharwenka, Moszkowski and Nicode, who have since become famous as solo pianists. Leaving Berlin for a short time to recruit his health, he studied composition at Stuttgart under Doppler, for several months, returning to Berlin and continuing his studies under Kullak and Weitzmann. The following season he played the great E flat concerto of Beethoven, accompanied by a large orchestra, before an audience of 4,000 people, Wuerst, royal kapellmeister, conducting, with such success that at the close of the performance he was recalled eight times. This, in the face of the most musical community of the world, and of an existing prejudice against American talent as something less than mediocre, was a triumph of which in itself American art may feel proud. His success did not stop here; his talent forced recognition in the world of composition. He had at this time (1873) several PF pieces that were favorably received. His Capriccio (Op. 4) was printed later on by Breitkopf & Hartel, and Ops. 1, 2, and 3, printed by Behr of Berlin, were used for didactic purposes by Theodor Kullak, in his more advanced classes. The following year he devoted to the development of technique and touch, and in the fall was married to Miss Mary Fay, a talented pianist of Williamsburg, N. Y., then studying under Kullak at Berlin. In February, 1875, he studied counterpoint and composition under Richter, at Leipzig, for some months, when he went to Weimar on the arrival of Liszt at that place. This great master was warm in his appreciation of the young American, became god father of his first child, and at his last matinee of the season had Sherwood to play two numbers before a distinguished audience. He went to Hamburg where he made six successful appearances, and February 18, 1876, at the Singakademie, Berlin, gave a concert, in which he was assisted by his wife, which was highly praised by the German musical press. "In this concert," said an eminent critic, "Mr. Sherwood, a young American, proved himself the blood brother of the titan Rubenstein." He now returned to America and played in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago and other cities, with great success, establishing a reputation as a pianist which he has ever since maintained and enhanced. During the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition he appeared before enormous audiences at the Academy of Music, and elicited the greatest enthusiasm. In the autumn of that year he settled in Boston, and though for a short time in connection with the New England Conservatory, has since devoted himself to private instruction and public appearances.

In 1877 he gave two recitals at the opening of the Hershey Music Hall, Chicago, and was extensively before the public and active in musical life, especially in lectures and recitals in connection with the meetings of the Music Teachers' National Association. As a pianist Mr. Sherwood was noted for perfection of technique, power and delicacy of expression, and thorough musicianship.

In composition he was rather finished and conscientious than fertile, and though he did not burden the printing presses, his productions are such as to reflect credit upon American art. The principal of these are a Scherzo in E major, and Idyll in A minor; Scherzo Symphonique, in C minor; Allegro Pattetico and Medea, with other productions. Aside from his eminent abilities as a solo artist, Mr. Sherwood has rendered exceptional services to the art of piano playing through his labors in establishing a thoroughly scientific method of developing the muscles which are employed in piano playing, guided by his own wide experience, both as player and instructor. The process he employs for rendering the fingers strong and at the same time flexible is greatly superior to those which were generally taught even by the best teachers, at the time when he made his own studies, and are the outcome of deep reflection which was forced upon him by his own needs during the period he was engaged in developing his own technique.

Theodore Thomas—No organization has done more to uplift music in these United States than the Theodore Thomas Orchestra. While Mr. Thomas was born in Essen, Hanover, he came to this country when ten years of age. His activities were mostly in New York City and from there made frequent tours with his orchestra finally reaching Illinois. After many of these trips he came to Chicago and became Musical Director of the World's Columbian Exposition and the Chicago Orchestra, the latter ranking with the best in the world. He continued to direct the destinies of the orchestra until his death. Theodore Thomas was succeeded by Frederick Stock who has maintained a high standard of excellences in both his programs and performances.

Henry Southwick Perkins. This active and prominent musician was born in Stockbridge, Vermont, March 20, 1843. His active and prominent musical instruction was received from his father, who for forty years was one of the most prominent singing teachers of the State. He obtained his regular course of musical instruction in Boston. For several years he taught singing in public schools and conducted large choral societies. His specialties were voice culture and singing, theory, normal instruction to teachers and methods of sight singing and conducting.

In 1867-69 he was professor in music in the University of Iowa, and was principal of the Iowa Academy of Music at Iowa City for five consecutive years, also the Kansas Normal Music School for five consecutive summers.

For twenty-five years about one-half of his time was devoted to conducting musical conventions, festivals, and normal music schools, including all the states and territories.

He has edited thirty-one singing books, ranging from a set of graded music readers to choir anthem books and festival chorus books, some of which have been exceedingly popular. His (copyright) chart and blackboard, or method for elementary sight singing and reading course is highly recommended by many of the best vocal and instrumental teachers. In 1875 he visited Europe for study and observation, traveling into the lands of the Pharos. During the tour he studied voice in Paris under Wartel and in Florence under Vannuccini.

He was one of the organizers of the Music Teachers' Association, and read a paper on "the Object of Musical Associations and Conventions." He has held every office in the Association excepting that of president, and is believed by many to have saved it from death in 1882, when it met for the first time in Chicago. The other two members of the executive committee having deserted it, he was responsible for the whole expense as well as for getting up the programme. He inaugurated at this meeting the principle that no artist should be paid for playing or singing at the annual meetings, which policy has been adhered to since excepting, of course, orchestra players.

In 1886 he organized the Illinois Music Teachers' Association, was chosen president and reelected for 1888, and again in 1889-90, at the meeting held in Peoria. He has done considerable literary work, especially as correspondent of musical journals and magazines, and as musical critic. Socially and mentally, Dr. Perkins stod among the first in the profession, a man of energy, talent and efficiency.

The Root family has been intimately and prominently associated with American music for a number of years, and the eminence achieved by Frederick W. Root, indicates that the name will be associated with the art of this country for a number of years to come. For several generations the members of the Root family have been known as singers, players and choir leaders. His father, Dr. George F. Root, is known wherever English songs are sung.

The subject of this sketch was born at Boston, June 13, 1846. His early musical studies were pursued under parental guidance and at the age of fourteen he was placed under the tutelage of Mr. B. C. Blodgett, then a talented young pianist newly graduated from the Leipzig Conservatory. He progressed rapidly with his subsequent instructors, Dr. William Mason in New York, and Mr. Robert Goldbeck in Chicago. He studied the organ principally with Mr. James Flint, and at one of the evening services of the Madison Square church he made his first appearance as an organist. In 1863 Dr. Root removed to Chicago and in that city and vicinity Frederick assisted his father as pianist and assistant conductor at several conventions and numerous concerts. Having acquired the rudiments of voice culture, he studied with Carlo Bassini, in New York, and in 1869 went on an European tour, devoting three years to study and recreation, visiting all points of interest from the north of Scotland to the south of Italy. In Germany he studied piano, and in Italy, under the celebrated Vannuccini, he continued the acquirement of voice culture. Upon his return he located in Chicago, building up the enviable reputation he made as a vocal teacher. In 1889 he was elected upon the Board of Examiners of the American College of Musicians, and by the Music Teachers' National Association, Chairman of a committee to formulate a course of vocal instruction for adoption by the association.

Several years ago Mr. Root introduced the system of class teaching in Chicago, and he obtained remarkable success in this specialty. It is in this that all his logic, magnetism, humor and illustrative ability come to the front. His work in this field has been so fruitful that he was invited to read a paper upon the subject before the Music

Teachers' National Association in 1887. He was also known as a private teacher of rare success, many of his pupils being well known singers in concert and opera.

Mr. Root is also well known as a composer, chiefly of songs and choral works. He was editor of the Song of Messenger for a number of years, and he still contributed articles to daily papers and periodicals on musical subjects. He was a thorough American in his ideas and sentiments, as well as a most genial and companionable gentleman. No teacher in America was a greater favorite with his pupils and his friends than Mr. Root and his labors for music in Chicago have been of the greatest importance and value.

Calvin B. Cady takes a high rank in the limited number of genuine artists who are engaged in the educational department of music. He was born at Barry, Pike County, Illinois, June 21, 1851. As he himself relates: "I have sung in choruses ever since I was a boy of nine. Don't know how I learned to read. Learned to play on an old melodeon, and also played drum, fife, flute and guitar. In fact, I had the knack of picking up instruments in general." In his boyhood he came to Chicago and became a piano tuner in the store of Root & Cady, Mr. Cady of the firm being his uncle. In this way he accumulated funds for his first serious study at Oberlin College, Ohio, where he was a student of both literature and music, and made the best use of his time in every direction, including occasional chorus conducting among his other opportunities, and for two years had charge of music in the public schools. He then spent three years at the Leipzig Conservatory, and also pursued private lessons with Dr. Paul, Dr. Papperitz, Richter, Plaidy and Kretchmar. Returning after his term of hard and conscientious work with a broadened musical vision and a competent equipment, he taught from 1874 to 1879 in Oberlin. In 1880 the chair of music at the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, was created for him, and he occupied it with credit to himself and profit to the institution for the period of eight years.

He brought to the Chicago Conservatory, where he found a wider sphere of usefulness, a matured experience united to proven ability as a musician in the very best sense of the term. He has been during his career active in every work calculated to promote the interests of the art. He was one of the founders of the Music Teachers' National Association, and the American College of Musicians, and has always maintained his interest in these useful organizations.

W. S. B. Matthews wrote in the Elite News a couple of years ago: "I have known for a long time that Cady is one of the most profound musical thinkers in the country, and one of the few piano teachers who are veritable educators." Mr. Cady has also some literary skill of no common order, and many of his articles in American musical journals have had the honor of reproduction in the English journals. He is one of those who will leave in the musical work of his life a strong impress upon the progress of the art in America. He has an idea and a method in his teaching, and an object in the career of his students which looks to something higher than what is termed in other art study the results of "cramming." He prefers to see the student thoroughly

grounded in the true idea and principles of music rather than to turn him out with a brilliant equipment of pieces for practice, but without any true musical comprehension of his own.

Adolph Koelling. This accomplished artist, who was at the head of the department of composition in Chicago Musical College, acquired his musical instinct by inheritance, his father having been a prominent orchestra player at Hamburg, Germany, where the subject of this sketch was born February 9, 1840.

He began his art study at the age of eight, under his elder brother, Karl, who had already gained a reputation as a composer of pianoforte salon music. Two years later he began to study with Degenhardt, organist of St. Catherin's church, Hamburg, and in 1856 commenced a course of study in theory and composition with Edward Momen, the instructor of Johannes Brahms. A year later he entered the field of composition, with the production of pianoforte variations, which, as performed by himself, elicited high praise. After studying counterpoint and fugue under Graedener, he went to London to teach, meeting with good success, but was soon obliged by family affairs to return to Hamburg, where he now studied instrumentation under A. F. Riccius, and devoted himself assiduously to the pianoforte. In 1867 he had the gratification of seeing his pianoforte quartette (Op. 1) performed by four leading musicians of Germany, on which occasion his production was highly commended by Brahms. This was subsequently published by Fritz Schubert and has become a pièce de résistance in the repertoire of quartette societies. His second important work was a sonata for pianoforte and violin, published by Pohle, which has been favorably criticized by David and other eminent critics. He has written three charming minor pieces, a Walzer Caprice, Albumblaettchen and Polonaise Caprice for pianoforte, published by Schubert. In 1872 Mr. Koelling accepted a call to Cottage Hill Seminary, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

The following is a complete list of his compositions: For Piano —scherzo in F sharp minor; sonata in C minor; sonata in C major; six scherzos; six variations in G major on the Russian National Hymn; ten variations in A flat major; six characteristic pieces; Barcarolle, Gavotte, Galop Caprice, Valse Impromptu, Serenata and Valse Gracieuse; Pensee Fugitive, fantasie in F minor, impromptu in B major; Deuxieme Valse Gracieuse—fantasie polonaise in E major; three exercises in octaves; Valse des Danaides (two or four hands); three Clavierstuecke: (a) Album Blaettchen, (b) Polonaise Caprice, (c) Valse Caprice. For piano and string—quartette in C minor for piano, violin, viola and 'cello; trio in E major for violin, 'cello, and piano. For string only—quartette in B major; Gavotte for string orchestra. Songs—Found (Goethe); The Beautiful Maiden; song for soprano in E major; two sacred airs: To Thee, My God and Savior (alto), and My Blessed Savior (alto and tenor). For voice and organ—hymn anthem; Deus Misereatur in G; Festival Te Deum; mass in D minor, and sacred air for bass., We Praise Thee, O God. He has also written twenty-five songs for male voices and six songs for mixed voices, with accompaniment.

When Mr. Reginald de Koven was barely thirty years old, he had accomplished a great deal of good work for a young musician. He was born at Middletown, Conn., in 1859, at the old family homestead. His father was an Episcopal clergyman, and some of his ancestors figured gallantly in the American revolution. Reginald never attended a public school. His father gave him his early education. He taught the lad French, German, Italian and the dead languages. At the age of eleven his parents took him to Europe, and he remained there about twelve years. He was educated at St. John's College Oxford, and was chiefly in the line of history and belles lettres. Previous to taking his degree he had studied piano playing at Stuttgart under Wilhelm Speidel, with the idea of becoming a professional. On quitting Oxford, he went back to Stuttgart for another year and studied harmony and counterpoint with Dr. Huff, an eminent authority on musical treatises. At Florence, Italy, he studied singing under Vanuccini.

He first came to Chicago in the autumn of 1882. His best compositions were songs and he has written over fifty ballads, which combine musical taste with melody sufficient to win popular favor. He has also written a score or more of piano compositions, several of which have become favorites with concert pianists, while his songs are frequently found on concert programmes. A tarantelle and gavotte are his most successful works for orchestra. It is as a composer of light opera that he manifests the most decided talent. His operas, The Begum, Robin Hood and Don Quixote, have attained a high degree of success with the public. He perfected his study of the orchestra and the art of writing light opera under the tuition of Genee and Suppe, both masters of this branch of art.

W. C. E. Seeboeck, pianist and composer, who was three years connected with the Chicago School of Vocal and Instrumental Art, was born in Vienna, Austria, August 21, 1859, where his father carried on a commission and banking business. His mother, though never appearing in public, was an accomplished vocalist, and pupil of Marchesi, and from this source young Seeboeck inherited a musical talent which led to his entering the study of music when only eight years of age. At ten he was placed under Gradener in piano, and had instructions also from Epstein and Grill, and in harmony and composition from Nottennohm. In 1875 he studied under Johannes Brahms, then in Vienna. During this time he also acquired a thorough collegiate education attending the Theresianum, a state gymnasium, where he was a brilliant student, and acquired a high degree of literary proficiency.

In 1877 he was sent to St. Petersburg, and remained for sixteen months a student of music, also enjoying the personal intimacy and warm regard of Anton Rubinstein. Returning to Vienna, on the death of his father, he determined to go to America, and accordingly came direct to Chicago. Here he at once entered the profession of teaching, with much success, and became the first year of his residence pianist for the Apollo Club, a position which he has ever since retained. For several years he was choirmaster and organist of the Jefferson Park Presbyterian church. He also at one time taught harmony and composition in Chicago Musical School.

He was a superb executant, and has participated in a great many important concert events in Chicago. He has a remarkable facility in composition, and his work was distinguished for its brilliancy and musical poetry.

April 21st, his opera, the Missing Link, libretto by W. H. Edwards, was put on the boards at Central Music Hall. While the libretto was inferior, the music was much admired, but a defaulting treasurer brought the venture to a sudden end after three performances. Mr. Seeboeck has done much to advance the cause of musical culture in Chicago by numerous piano recitals, concerts, etc. He read every kind of music at sight, and had a unique gift in this respect. In 1890 he was engaged upon a grand opera, which was produced in Munich, Bavaria, during the season 1891-92. Portions of this work were rehearsed during the year, when Mr. Seeboeck visited Europe to confer with those concerned in the production of his work, and great anticipations in artistic circles were aroused. On this occasion he visited Paris, and a letter from Sara Hershey Eddy, of August 6th, said: "Mr. Seeboeck charmed a fine assembly in a private salon during his visit in Paris by his delightful playing, which was just as pleasing and satisfying here as it was at home." An artist is an artist the world over. The fertility of his pen is remarkable. During his residence in Chicago he has produced 167 songs, among the more prominent being: Kiss Me Well, said Margaret (Op. 32); Gipsy Boy; It was a Dream, and a Ship (Op. 44); How Fair and Sweet and Holy, and Dewdrop (Op. 28); By the Spring (Op. 41); Minuet Antique Nos. 1 and 2 (Op.); Bourree, Nos. 1 and 2, (Op. 15, 16 and 17); Berceuse for PF and Violin; thirty-two concert etudes, seven Paganini caprices, and twenty-two quartettes, etc. He has also composed fine church music. These and numerous other works are now being published by Wm. Rohlfing & Co., Milwaukee; Brainard's Sons and Summy, Chicago, and Kistner, Leipzig, Germany. Mr. Seeboeck was a proficient linguist, speaking English, French and German with equal facility.

Frederick Grant Gleason. Among those native Americans who have developed the real artistic faculty in the field of composition, and one who had become known also as an accomplished and conscientious critic, is Frederick Grant Gleason, who was born December 17, 1848, at Middletown, Conn. The gift of music was to him an inheritance, his father having been a finished amateur flutist, and his mother an accomplished pianist and contralto singer. His parents removed to Hartford, Conn., where he became a member of the church choir, and soon evinced an ardent desire for music as a profession.

Having been designed by his father for the ministry, his musical tendencies at first received scant encouragement. He, however, persevered tenaciously, and at the age of sixteen entered the field of composition by the production of an oratorio, The Captivity, on a poem of Goldsmith, which he abandoned before completed for a Christmas Oratorio, the words selected from Lupton and Montgomery's version of the Psalms. Notwithstanding his lack of acquaintance with harmony and composition these works evinced so undoubtedly a faculty

of musical talent that opposition to his art ambition was withdrawn, and his father decided to give him a liberal musical education. Accordingly he was placed for some time under the care of Dudley Buck, then living in Hartford, with whom he studied piano and composition, and subsequently, in 1869, he was sent to the Conservatory of Leipzig, Germany. Here he received instructions on the piano by Moscheles and Papperitz; in harmony by Dr. Richter and Oscar Paul. He supplemented his course by private lessons from Plaidey, and in composition from J. C. Lobe. On the death of Moscheles in 1870 he removed to Berlin, where his piano studies were continued under the direction of Oscar Raif, a pupil of Tausig, and his theoretical education completed under the renowned Carl Frederick Weitzmann, a pupil of Spohr and Hauptmann, who was later, up to the time of his retirement from musical activity, court musician to the Empress of Russia. In 1871 Mr. Gleason returned home on a visit to his parents, and soon after went to London for the purpose of studying English music, having at the same time the advantage of piano study with Oscar Berringer, another eminent pupil of Carl Tausig. In 1873 he again went to Berlin, where he resumed his study of theory under Weitzmann, and also taking instructions on the piano from Prof. Loeschorn, and on the organ from Prof. August Haupt. During his stay in Berlin on this occasion he prepared his work on Gleason's Motet Collections, published by W. A. Pond & Co., of New York. His aim throughout had been to secure thoroughness in his equipment under the best European masters. He was an ardent and conscientious student, improving his opportunities with unremitting zeal and industry. On completing his studies he returned to his family home at Hartford, where he became organist of one of the churches, and later of a church at New Britain, Conn. He was also engaged successfully in teaching and at the same time was active, as he has ever since been, and continues to be, in his favorite field of composition, and about that time completing his opera, Otho Visconti, a three-act grand romantic opera, selections from which have been published by W. A. Pond & Co. of New York.

In 1876 he removed to Chicago, where he was active in musical life as teacher, composer and critic, having for a number of years ably filled the position of musical editor on the Daily Tribune.

Mr. Gleason's works in addition to numerous small pieces, published and unpublished, but having no opus number, are in order as follows: 1, Songs for soprano voice; 2, Organ sonata (C sharp minor); 3, Barcarola, for piano; 4, Episcopal church music; 5, Songs for alto voice; 6, Episcopal church music; 7, Otho Visconti, grand romantic opera, music and libretto; 8, PF. pieces; 9, Trio No. 1 in C minor for piano, violin and violoncello; 10, Quartettes for female voices; 11, Overture Triumphale, organ; 12, God, Our Deliverer, cantata, solos, chorus, and orchestra; 13, Trio No. 2 in A major, piano, violin and violoncello; 14, Culprit Fay, cantata (words by Jos. Rodman Drake), solos, chorus and orchestra; 15, Trio No. 3 in D minor, for piano, violin and violoncello; 16, Montezuma, grand romantic opera in three acts, plot, text and music, 17, Praise Song to Harmony, symphonic cantata solos, male chorus and orchestra; 18, Concerto in G minor, piano and

orchestra; 19, Three sketches, orchestra; 20, Auditorium Festival Ode, a symphonic cantata, solo, chorus and orchestra, composed for the dedication of the Auditorium, Chicago.

Rosseter Gleason Cole was born in 1866 in Michigan, educated in the public schools of Ann Arbor, and in 1888 graduated from the University of Michigan with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. This distinguished university conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1913, "for service as composer and university teacher of music." During his college course he elected all of the courses in theoretical music then offered in the university, and at his graduation the University Musical Society performed a work written during his senior year, "The Passing of Summer," a lyrical cantata for solos, chorus and orchestra. The performance of this work by an under-graduate is the only instance of its kind in the history of this university and it aroused deep interest in the talents of the composer. This cantata revised and reorchestrated was published several years later by Novello, Ewer & Co., (London), and has since been performed many times by choral societies, in this country. After teaching English branches and Latin for two years in the Ann Arbor and Aurora (Illinois) high schools, he went to Berlin, where he spent two years in advanced musical study and composition. Here he won, through competitive examination, a free scholarship under Max Bruch in the Royal Master-School for Composition (a department of the Royal Academy of Arts, supported by the German government), and had the distinction of being the fifth American to gain entrance into this school, the highest of its kind in Europe.

On his return to America he entered the field of college work and held the position of Professor of Music and Director of the School of Music successfully in Ripon College (two years), Grinnell College (seven years) and the University of Wisconsin (two years).

Since 1902 (with the exception of two years at the University of Wisconsin), he resided in Chicago as composer, editor, lecturer, and teacher of Composition and Theory. In 1908 he held the important position of Professor (in charge) of music in Columbia University Summer Session in New York City, giving lecture courses in harmony and in the history and appreciation of music.

He has the unusual distinction of having served three terms as President of the Music Teachers' National Association (in 1903, 1909 and 1910), and for many years has been prominent in its affairs. He has also served two terms (1913 and 1914) as Dean of the Illinois Chapter of the American Guild of Organists and is a well known organist of Chicago.

His published works already number over seventy including compositions for voice, piano, organ, 'cello, chorus, and orchestra. Of these over thirty are songs, fifteen are piano compositions and eight are organ. Among his larger published works are: the cantata "The Passing of Summer," two Recitations with elaborate musical settings, "King Robert of Sicily" and "Hiawatha's Wooing," a ballade for 'cello and orchestra (performed by the Minneapolis and Philadelphia Symphony Orchestras) and two brilliant and massive organ works of re-

cent date, "Fantaisie Symphonique" and "Rhapsody." Of his larger compositions the "King Robert of Sicily," dedicated to David Bispham, has been performed by this great artist in all the larger cities of this country (over four hundred times by Bispham alone). Mr. Cole has won special recognition for his work in this field for, next to Richard Strauss' "Enoch Arden," his "King of Sicily" and "Hiawatha's Wooing" are generally considered as the finest example of this modern music form. The "King Robert" has been performed many times in Paris, in Berlin, Cologne and other continental cities. Mr. Cole's most recent orchestral composition, "Symphonic Prelude," was given a successful performance at Mr. Gunn's second American concert in Chicago in March of the present year. His sonata for piano and violin (M. S.) has had many notable performances, (once before the Illinois Association in 1912 by Mr. Cole and Miss Woodworth) by Theodore Spiering, Herbert Butler, Ludwig Marum, and others.

Adolph Weidig, born November 28th, 1867, at Hamburg, Germany. The following sketch of Mr. Weidig's career was printed in these programs upon the occasion of the first performance at the concerts of the Chicago orchestra of his Capriccio for orchestra, the data having been furnished by himself at the request of the editor of the program book. This matter with additions to bring it up to date, is reprinted here as being an authoritative account of the artistic accomplishments of the composer of the Symphonic Suite. "Mr. Weidig comes from a musical family, his father was a member of the City Theatre Orchestra at Hamburg.

He began his studies at the Hamburg Conservatory, where he received instruction in violin playing from Karl Bargheer, a pupil of Spohr, and in piano playing and theory from the celebrated Dr. Riemann. At the age of sixteen he became a member of the local Philharmonic Orchestra where he had the good fortune to become acquainted with such distinguished musicians as Von Bulow, Brahms, Tschaikowsky, etc. After winning the Frankfort 'Mozart Prize,' with a string quartette, Mr. Weidig proceeded to Munich to continue his studies under Abel and Rheinberger. (The Mozart Prize, established in 1838, is provided for the surplus of the Frankfort "Liederkranz." The winner is entitled to an annual allowance of eighteen hundred marks—about $450.00 for a period of four years.) While in Munich Mr. Weidig composed a number of works, among which were a symphony and overture "Sappho." The latter was performed by Mr. Thomas at the World's Fair. After graduating from the Munich school in 1891 with the highest honors, Mr. Weidig came to America, locating in Chicago, which city has since been his home. For four years (1892-1896) he occupied a place among the first violins in the Chicago Orchestra, and according to his own statement these four years were among the most profitable of all his years of study, in as much as he thus became thoroughly familiar not only with all orchestral master-works, but also with the technique of the modern orchestra."

To this account may be added the information that Mr. Weidig is an associate director of the American Conservatory of Music. In the season 1908-1909 he directed a number of his orchestral compositions

in some of the important music centers of Germany, Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Hamburg, etc. The works for orchestra by Mr. Weidig that have been played at concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra comprise the following: Capriccio, Opus 13, produced January 5-6, 1900, under the direction of Theodore Thomas; Symphonic Fantasie, "Semiramis," Opus 33, based on a poem by Edward Markham, produced March 2-3, 1906, under the direction of Frederick Stock; Three Episodes, Opus 38, produced March 13-14, 1908, under the direction of Fredrick Stock.

William D. Armstrong, born in Alton, Illinois, February 11th, 1868, residence Alton, fluent writer of pianoforte and organ music, also many vocal and orchestral compositions.

Frank L. Bristow, born in Jacksonville, Illinois, April 24th, 1844 educated there under Strachauer and Wimmerstedt. He moved to Covington, Ky., where he was superintendent of music in public schools. Mr. Bristow has been secretary and treasurer of the State Teachers' Association and president of the same; has taught instrumental and vocal music in most of the southern states; he resided in Covington for twenty years; is author of several collections of singing books for classes, and two cantatas for ladies' voices, "Rainbow" and "Pleiads," as well as other compositions for chorus.

Wm. Conrad, born November 1st, 1869, at Fulton, Illinois, educated under Fisher, Fehl and S. E. Jacobson. Made his debut at the age of thirteen. First theatrical engagement at the age of fifteen. Played first violin at Academy of Music since spring of 1889; first violin at St. Jacobs Clark Street Theater since October 27th. Specialties violin and zither. Teacher of violin at the Western Musical Academy. Author of "Largo" for string quartette and duet for zither and piano.

Martin S. Wesley, born January 20th, 1839, in Plainfield, Illinois, resides in San Jose, California. Teacher of voice culture and singing, harmony, counterpoint and musical composition; chorus conducting. Author of nearly 100 sheet music songs and quartettes. Is also author of musical book, The Festival Chimes, 1863; The Cluster, 1873; The Welcome Hour, 1877; and many compositions appeared in New York when he was fifteen years of age. He was for many years employed in conducting musical conventions, mostly in Illinois and the adjoining states. Was associate principal of Martin Stillman and Towne's Normal Music School for some years.

Albert George Parker was born September 21, 1856, in Kankakee, Ill., and was educated under Clarence Eddy and Frederick Grant Gleason of Chicago and at the Royal Conservatory at Stuttgart. Returning to America in 1882 he became instructor of music at Syracuse University, and in 1883 was made professor of piano and organ where he still is one of the most active and able American musical educators.

Mrs. Nellie Bangs Skelton was born August 15th, 1859, in Lacon, Illinois. Popular pianist, educated under de Roode-Rice and author of a number of piano pieces. Residence in Chicago.

Oliver B. Skinner was born February 7, 1864, in Lake Zurich, Ill., resides in Bloomington, Illinois, and was educated at Kullak Conserva-

tory, Berlin, and graduated in 1887. Director of Bloomington Conservatory of Music. Teacher of piano and theory and is an able and active musician, composer of piano studies and small works.

The following are some of the Illinois musicians and composers:

Jane Bingham Abbot
Carrie Jacobs Bond
Louise Agnes Garnett
John Alden Carpenter
Franklin Stead
Horace Ellis
G. A. Grant-Schaefer
Hubbard W. Harris
C. A. Havens
Edwin Schneider
Walter Keller
P. C. Lutkin
Philo A. Otis
Walter Spry
Hugo Goodwin
Arne Oldberg
W. S. B. Matthews
Arthur Dunham
Wilhelm Middleschutte
Arthur Olaf Anderson
Felix Borowski
Cyril A. Graham
Eric De Lamarter
Carl W. Beecher
Edythe Pryn Hall
Wilmot Lemont
John Palmer
Elenore Smith
Elizabeth Garisey Harvey
Leo Sowerby
Eleanor Everest Freer
Edward C. Moore
Herbert E. Hyde
Adolf Brune
Wm. E. Lester

NOTE.—I am indebted to the late W. S. B. Matthews for much of the early biographical data in this paper.

W. D. A.

GREENE VARDIMAN BLACK, 1836-1915

By Bessie M. Black, *Jacksonville, Illinois.*

The life history of Greene Vardiman Black is the story of a self-reliant, self-educated man of rare talents and unusual ability, who contributed much to the dignity of the dental profession and to the development of science in general. He was the son of William and Mary S. Vaughn Black, sturdy pioneers of this central Illinois country. They were known among their neighbors for their industry, for their integrity of purpose, and for their strong religious convictions. Mary and William Black came to this Illinois country in 1834 in company with two brothers, John and Jefferson Black, and four sisters: they came from Tennessee down the Cumberland and the Ohio Rivers to the Mississippi River, then up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and up the Illinois River to Naples. They located in Scott County near Winchester: at that time Scott County was a part of Morgan County. Here the subject of this sketch was born August 3, 1836, the sixth son of this family, and the first of their children born in Illinois.

A memorandum book kept by William Black says that his grandfather, William Black (wife Cynthia Beard) lived in North Carolina and "was a Militia Captain at the approach of the Revolution and was one of the first Officers of the country who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. He died about the time the war began". (This is an exact copy of the memorandum, including capitals and punctuation.)

William Black bought a hundred and sixty acres of land in Morgan County, now Scott County, for $2 an acre, and ten years later sold it for $8 an acre, and moved to Cass County, then Morgan County, near the town of Virginia. Here he bought 200 acres of land at $6 an acre, half prairie and half timber, with a creek running across one corner of it,—a well-divided piece of farm land. William Black was a cabinet maker as well as a farmer and the natural mechanical ingenuity of the family descends from him.

After moving to Cass County they lived in a double log cabin, already on the farm, until they could build a house. Although wood was abundant, lumber was scarce. There were no saw mills, so they built a brick house. In those days the brick mason was also the brick maker, and the one nearest them lived in Peoria, a hundred miles away. The wood-work in the house, the doors, the window-frames and the floors, was made by the father and the older brothers, from walnut trees on the farm, cut and worked up by hand. They built a log school house half a mile away. The first time these children went to school their father went with them to blaze the trail, so they could come home by themselves. A few years later William Black gave the land from his own farm for a better school and grounds.

W. L. Black describes this first school-house as follows: "For seats we had rough boards without backs. There was a big fire-place which made a recess at one side which was used as the "dunce bench". We used the front piece of the mantle for a blackboard. It had never been painted but was black with smoke. For spelling we used Webster's Elementary; for numbers, Adam's Arithmetic. The house was not fenced. The cows stood on the windward side for protection from the cold winds in winter, and on the shady side in summer. * * * * * * * Our school sports were town ball, three cornered cat, base and bull-pen. * * * * * * *. Our teachers seemed to be employed for their ability and disposition to use the birch rather than for any other reason."

Practically all the going-to-school that Greene Vardiman Black had was obtained in this log school house, which he attended for three or four months a year. On this farm the young boy grew to manhood. He did not like farm work. Some one had to help about the house and garden, and his mother arranged that he should do it. She managed so that much of his time would be spent out of doors in the open. In some way the impression grew that he was not strong enough for rough farm work, but there was never any suggestion of frailty until he was injured during the Civil War. While he was living in Clayton, he frequently visited his home in Cass County. He would come to Jacksonville on the Wabash railroad, and walk the fifteen miles to the farm in the evening, and back in the morning in time for an early train to Clayton. The out door life developed in the lad an intense interest in nature, in the trees, in the grasses, the flowers and the birds, the insect life and the wild life along the creek. It is certain that at this time Greene Vardiman Black was developing that excellent habit of careful observation which was the outstanding characteristic of his whole life. He not only knew all the varieties of oak, of hickory, and of elm in the woods by sight, but he knew the haunts of the deer and the wolves, the wild cats, the coons and wild turkeys. He knew the animal signs and their tracks, their habits and how to hunt them. He knew why the great flocks of wild turkeys and wild pigeons disappeared from the new country. These things were his opportunity for study and for cultivating the habit for observation. The location of the Cass County home on the edge of a timber was an ideal spot to live, when one wanted to know the great out-doors.

He was not so different from his father for William Black, too, was tall and slight. Both father and son were positive natures, both took great interest in hunting and fishing and using all kinds of tools, both loved the trees and birds and the wild life along the waterways. True it is the younger man had been denied contact with the teachers who could make vital the lessons learned from books, but it is also true that during these years he learned many things that were really vital. He did not like school but he loved to study. This young lad felt that he spent too much time in the school room, and the teachers were not always an inspiration.

Greene Vardiman Black always said his mother was the only person in the world that understood him. She saw in him an imaginative young man, tremendously interested in natural phenomena, a student of every thing about him, and able to do anything and everything with his hands, but with an imagination which must always be followed. He was deeply interested in every mechanical contrivance. He was interested in the mechanics of the gangplow, and of the selfbinder, designed and patented by his older brother. But he was not at all interested in the efforts of that brother to manufacture and sell the gangplow nor was he especially interested in the fact that his brother sold his selfbinder to the elder McCormick for a goodly sum of money, notwithstanding that this selfbinder (which bound the grain with the straw) was the first selfbinder ever designed and patented. However there was never any lack of sympathetic interest between him and his brothers.

He is nearly seventeen, and in conference with his family he decides to go to Clayton and study medicine with his brother, Thomas G. Black. This brother was a thriving practitioner and an efficient, forceful man in his community. In Clayton, Greene Vardiman Black clerked in a store, kept the post-office, played in the neighborhood band and took an active part in all the social activities of the village. He also devoted some time to study. He read medicine and rode with his brother and observed cases of sickness and accident. From one of his letters to a little sister we learn that he was studying Latin with a teacher, no doubt for the purpose of understanding scientific terms. He had been in Clayton nearly four years when he heard of one, Dr. J. C. Speer, who was practicing dentistry in Mt. Sterling, a nearby town. He went to Mt. Sterling, saw Dr. Speer and arranged to study dentistry with him. This preceptor had only one book on dentistry. Greene Vardiman Black read it through three times and watched Dr. Speer's work for several months, and then decided that he was ready to practice dentistry. Knowing his talent for doing things with his hands we can readily imagine that he not only read Dr. Speer's book and observed his methods but that he readily induced his preceptor to let him do all the various things for patients. He could not have maintained interest in things he could not do. We must bear in mind that at this time, 1856, dentistry was simply a mechanical art and that almost all the men practicing it had been taught by a preceptor, as had this young man. There is no doubt that his first practice was in his father's home and neighborhood. Much of the dentistry of these days was itinerant, and was carried on in the homes of the neighborhood.

He selected Winchester in which to open his first office. The condition of dentistry in 1857, when this young dentist entered practice, had little that was scientific or professional about it. Next to mechanics, metallurgy came in for most consideration. As yet chemistry had a small place. The things which our young dentist could do best were those in vogue. He did what the patients wanted done, for it was a way to earn a living.

As an individual he was the product of the new west, himself a pioneer, and he was starting life in a pursuit which was in its early

pioneer stage. Winchester, too, was a new town (founded in 1830), but our young dentist was past master of that pioneer education of eye, and of ear, and of hand, which was to be the foundation of his progress. This little town of Winchester proved a fortunate location, and he made good at this, his first venture. Here he was among friends; several members of his family lived nearby.

He had spent many months reading medicine in the office of his brother, Dr. Thomas Black, and had far more knowledge of disease and disease relations than the average dentist. This gave him from the beginning of his career a broader outlook and a more comprehensive view of the professional possibilities of the dentist. He had an aptitude for making friends of the thinking people of a community.

In Winchester he met Dr. Clark Roberts, who was just the kind of a man to inspire a young man to do things. Dr. Roberts was cultured and genial. He was keenly interested in astronomy as well as medicine, and he was a genius in mechanical construction. He had made a telescope to facilitate his own study of the stars. He had spent much time in an effort to construct a perpetual motion machine. Dr. Black plunged into the study of astronomy and mathematics. He was determined to know why the heavens were different at different times, why and how the stars could be observed at one time and then disappeared for a certain period. He learned to know the stars and their places in the heavens. All his life long he kept up this study and the observations of the heavens as a past-time.

He always read and studied as if it were play. An element of intensive curiosity to know the why of things he did not understand, was apparent when he was a small boy, and it continued all his life.

To all appearances he seemed to be doing things just for the fun of doing them. Whatever he did was facilitated by a never failing manual dexterity, and a decided alertness of mind and body. His ability to reproduce with the pencil what he saw developed in him an appreciation of the artistic in the things about him. His imagination and his vision of things as they should be were the outlet for his artistic instinct. When he was studying medicine with his brother in Clayton, his visit to the dental office of Dr. Speer was undoubtedly inspired by natural curiosity to learn and to know. And always he wanted to know all that could be known about a thing. This inquisitiveness was always accompanied by a certain acquisitiveness that encompassed every detail. These fundamental qualities of the real student were overlooked by his family for many years. His method and habit of continuous and intensive study were difficult for family and friends to understand. And it is not surprising that he was frequently misunderstood. They could not see his objective, and often thought he was just wasting his time on things of no "practical" value.

It has not been our intention to write anything in this brief sketch that could be considered in the least possible way a history of dentistry. When we come too close to the professional side of Dr. Black's life, we must remember that all the years of his life were so intimately connected with his profession that to write a sketch of him is to sketch a back-ground of the things in which he was most interested.

From the beginning of his dental work, he had shown a great interest in the uses of gold, and had devoted himself to all the ways of handling it. This interest in gold led to the systematic study of metallurgy. As was his custom, he bent every bit of energy he possessed to this study. Especially did gold, silver, tin and mercury interest him. This was his first special study which could be classified as scientific. He always maintained friendly relations with the goldsmiths, the jewelers, the gunsmiths and the locksmiths, because he was interested in mechanical principles, and also because they worked with metals. At this time, dentistry was much akin to these mechanical arts. His profession was opening a wonderful field for the application of these principles, as well as the work with metals.

After moving to Winchester, Greene Vardiman Black developed a keen interest in the manner of procedure of his work. There must be method in his business, and there must also be records of business. Recently several account books dated 1858-61 have been discovered. The accounts are well kept in an orderly way. The handwriting in all these books is good, and it is practically the same as his writing in later years. Some facts are recorded giving customs of that time, such as items of income and expense. In the early days of the state, there was a "traffic" in so-called orders, in lieu of money. On a page of one of these account books, it is shown that Mr. A. paid a dental bill by depositing to Dr. Black's order four hundred one gallon crocks, that Mr. B. paid his bill with six and a half bushels of peaches, that Mrs. C. paid a bill with an order for thirty gallons of cider, and Mr. D. paid with an order for three hundred one gallon crocks. It is needless to say that Winchester had several thriving potteries at that time. Prices of every day commodities of that time might be of interest. In the same set of books we find butter at eight and ten cents a pound, eggs at five cents a dozen, lard at eight cents a pound, chickens at three for twenty-five cents, cord wood at two dollars a cord, and "juggle wood" at one dollar and a half a cord. "Juggle wood" was the scrap-wood left after squaring up house logs and railroad ties." (Dr. E. K. Blair, Waverly, Ill.) Among the curiously human entries are lists of names descriptive of people, evidently arising from the failure to record the names of patients, and a desire to keep the item in the account book. A few of these name substitutes are given: "A Lady from Oxville"; "Lady from Garlans"; "Irishman"; "Miss Irish Girl"; "Mrs. Woman": "Mr. Dumb Man"; "Mrs. Country Woman;" "Uncle Sam's Boy"; "Little Boy"; "Young Man—gone to Glory," the last meaning the young man died without paying his account. This is not a very complimentary list, but perhaps it is a sufficiently descriptive one to be effective.

He always studied for the sake of knowing what he knew exactly. He had always worked by himself. His own knowledge of a question he made the basis to work from, and went just as far as he could in his study. The solution of the problem in hand was to him the only limit to his efforts. His patience and his persistence were unbounded. When a problem had been solved, his final test was to try it out in other fields, and in this way prove his findings. Thus, young in years was he developing the scientific mind. Is science not the study of the relation of facts to every other fact in the world?

In 1859, he married Jane Lawrence Coughennower in Clayton, Illinois. She was the daughter of Henry and Agnes Likely Coughennower, formerly of Huntington County, Penna., and the granddaughter of John and Dorothy Lawrence Cohenour (note change in spelling) of Lancaster City, Penn. To them two sons were born, Horace Vaughn Black, who died in infancy, and Carl Ellsworth Black who lives in Jacksonville, Illinois.

The period up to 1860 did not add much to the progress of scientific dentistry, but it did add much to the professional side. A few dentists here and there were beginning to consider themselves members of a profession, with a distinct ambition for progress. This period was devoted to developing his professional activities in the community and radiating out of it. His work took him frequently to Virginia and Clayton, and occasionally to Quincy and Jacksonville. Dentistry was young and still a mechanical art. No outstanding effort had been made at this time toward scientific and professional development. Its practitioners, with a few exceptions, thought only in terms of business and income.

A year or two after Dr. Black located in Winchester, an entirely new impulse set the scientific world to vibrating. In 1859 was published Darwin's great work "The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection."[1] It is difficult to estimate the importance of this publication. It was not so much the principles laid down in this book as it was the type of mind that conceived it. Darwin was the founder of a new method, the purely scientific. It showed the world that science was nothing more than finding real facts and their relation to other facts. It led to a new way of looking at the cause of disease. Through its method of thought and research, the new sciences of bacteriology and cellular pathology were born. The new method of fact finding paved the way in many special fields. It blazed the trail to practical research, out of which was born a new education in many other fields. It was not so much what Darwin said and wrote which wrought the revolution in the scientific world, as it was his method of approach, his painstaking search for the facts, and his plan of correllating and organizing these facts. A little later, we will see the tremendous influence this had on the whole life of this young dentist.

When the Civil War broke out, Greene Vardiman Black enlisted in the 129th Illinois Volunteers. He left his wife and children with his father while he served in the army. His talents singled him out for special duty. Most of his war experiences were found in special scout duty in which he must work alone, and necessarily be on his own. He was seriously injured while serving in this capacity, and was in a Louisville hospital for six months. He never recovered his full physical vigor after this injury, and was discharged for disability, in 1863. His father brought him home on a stretcher in a farm wagon, the trip taking six weeks.

Greene Vardiman Black came of a family of patriots in the Union cause. His father had left the South many years before because he abhorred slavery. At the outbreak of the Civil War, his father, William Black, became an enlisting officer and served through

the war. Greene Vardiman Black and three of his brothers enlisted. One brother rose to the rank of colonel, another to the rank of major, and still another to the rank of captain. Two brothers stayed on the farm to carry on—and one was too young to enlist.

The break in his life that the Civil War had made was accentuated by the death of his elder son, followed in a very short time by the death of his young wife. The hardships of war, the disappointment of his own long illness in the Louisville hospital, the death of his wife and child had changed the whole current of his thoughts and of his plans. A new seriousness of purpose came with it all. The pioneer way and the pioneer spirit were replaced by new ideals and new methods. His vision and his ambition had new directions. He needed broader fields in which to work, and selected Jacksonville in which to live, moving there April 30, 1863. He opened an office on the north side of the square in partnership with a Dr. Cox, who left Jacksonville within a year, going into other fields of activity. Dr. Black's experience in Winchester had taught him that he liked and could make a success of the profession he had chosen, and it also showed him that he was not satisfied with dentistry as it was. The anomaly really shows his progressive attitude. To like his profession, and to be dissatisfied with it was the basic element of his success, and it remained so all his long eventful life. At this time, he was not bookish, he had not developed any active interest in research, but he did have some social qualities that were helpful. He was always approachable, he loved music, and played the violin, piano, flute, cornet and the cello. He had an unusual tenor voice, and loved to sing. Singing had been a family diversion in his father's home. All through his life, his family kept up the custom of having "a little sing" after dinner each evening.

In 1865, he became a member of the Philharmonic Society. His interest in music was inherent. He played the organ in addition to the instruments of his earlier days. About this time, he joined the dramatic club. For two reasons he joined these organizations—first, because he liked them, second, because they were educational. His hunger for knowledge was insatiable, and it never left him. Hard study had to make up for many defects in his early training. These very defects were stimulants which drove him on to greater efforts. He was developing a little interest which tended toward research. He was a student in the broadest sense of the word, and most of all, he was practical, for he always saw his objective clearly, and achieved that objective.

In 1865 he married Elizabeth Akers Davenport. She was a woman of pleasing personality and gentle dignity who filled a place in the life of this gifted man with rare devotion and tact. She was the daughter of Ira and Minerva Reed Davenport, both prominent families in the early life of Jacksonville. She was the most unselfish of women, and absolutely happy in the success of her husband. The years went on, and honors, state, national and international, came to him in recognition of his achievements. She it was who all these years had guarded him from annoyances, and looked after his comfort, and made possible for him the many hours of concentrated study on problems that presented themselves to him to be solved.

During this period he had joined the Missouri State Dental Society, 1866, and the Illinois State Dental Society, 1868, and in some way, he acquired the reputation of always being in evidence at all dental meetings, state and national, as well as those in nearby states.

Looking back at his method of study, one can see that he had an advantage over the average dentist in his knowledge of medicine, metallurgy and chemistry. Without perhaps realizing it, but with the purpose of being able to do better work, he had already done important research. From the time he joined the Missouri State Dental Society in 1866, he contributed papers to dental societies not only in Illinois and Missouri, but in a constantly widening circle of states and cities. He began as early as 1867 to contribute to the leading dental journals. Practically all of these papers contained results of original research and investigation. He never went on a society program for the purpose of being seen and heard, but always had a theme which he thought his profession needed.

Looking ahead, he could see a relation of his profession to the subjects of anatomy and physiology, as well as metallurgy and mechanics. As a dentist, he naturally had to study metallurgy to understand the action and reaction of metals; he found that he needed chemistry, so he organized a class in chemistry in 1868 which consisted of school teachers. The class met in the laboratory of his office, and they really made an exhaustive study of the subject of chemistry. It was not simply a class in didactic teaching of chemistry. There was sufficient equipment to demonstrate all ordinary chemical reactions and procedures. One can readily see that teaching chemistry was Dr. Black's way of studying chemistry. In later years, he designed and built an apparatus for making nitrous oxide gas to use as an anaesthetic. He was among the first to use it in the practice of dentistry.

The mention of Nitrous-Oxide gas is important in another phase of his professional evolution. This had to do with a question of professional ethics. After he began using Nitrous-Oxide gas as an anaesthetic in extracting teeth, he had his professional card in the daily paper contain the statement: "Laughing Gas used for extracting teeth without pain." After one or two years, such statements disappeared forever. He had taken another step forward in professionalism.

During the early years, he frequently contributed articles to the daily papers on the care of the teeth and the advances which were being made in the treatment of decay of the teeth and other diseases of the mouth. Some of these articles suggested a bid for business, and did not have the same high ethical standard which characterized the later years.

In 1869, he presented a paper to the Illinois State Dental Society on the subject of the use of Gold Foil. For years, there had been many questions about the welding properties of gold. This paper was a report of his experimental work along this line. He gave the subject to the profession at length. Briefly, he advised subjecting the gold to heat, so that the surface of the gold was perfectly clean, then there would be cohesion. (Certain gases gathered on the surface of the gold, forming a film that prevented cohesion. By subjecting the gold to

heat, the gases were volatilized, leaving a clean surface.) Dr. Thomas L. Gilmer,[2] formerly Dean of Northwestern University Dental School, says about this experimental procedure, "His work on gold foil was so well done that it could not be bettered. It stands today just as he left it, fully completed and unchallenged; it will ever stand thus, as will all similar work done by Dr. Black. When it was done, it was finished. The claims of this discovery still hold true, and it is sixty-three years since this work was done. It would be impossible to estimate the tremendous value of these findings on gold foil to the dental profession."

About this time, he became a member of the Literary Union, an organization of men in various callings,—clergymen, teachers, doctors, lawyers, literary and business men. All enjoyed it and profited by it. The Literary Union met every Monday evening, and tradition tells us that in its early history, meetings were held Monday evening, whether it happened to be Christmas or Fourth of July. This membership proved to be a source of great pleasure to him, and he was stimulated by the discussion of the subjects presented. He always entertained a certain regard for just criticism. Even though it was directed at him, he enjoyed it. The Literary Union was another opportunity for education, and another forum from which he could expound those things which filled his mind.

In 1870, he invented a cord-driven dental engine. It was the first successful engine of this kind ever constructed. For several years, he manufactured and sold these engines, and while they were by no means the last word in dental engines, his efforts were a part of the progress of the day. During this period, his mind ran much to mechanics. He invented and patented a foot motor, and a tool for lettering marble and stone. This same year, he was elected to the presidency of the Illinois State Dental Society. This was direct recognition of his advanced professional studies and work. It was a mark of recognition which had a stimulating effect.

From this time on, his progress with his professional colleagues was rapid and steady. Many successful men can look back to a few acquaintances who inspired them to greater effort. Greene Vardiman Black always paid a loyal tribute to his mother by saying that she, Mary Vaughn Black, was his first inspiration. Then later came Dr. Clark Roberts, and now another, Dr. David Prince, came into his life. Dr. Prince lived in Jacksonville. In 1843 he had been called from Payson, Illinois, to the chair of anatomy and of surgery in the new medical department of Illinois College. Dr. Prince was a Yankee by birth, and had good educational opportunities. He was a student, a fearless, efficient and enthusiastic anatomist and a surgeon. During the Civil War, he was a brigade surgeon, and voluntarily went with his men to Libby Prison, in order that they might have medical care. After the war, he spent two years in assisting the Surgeon General to prepare a medical and surgical history of the war. Then he came back to Jacksonville. When Greene Vardiman Black met Dr. Prince, he developed the warmest admiration for his patriotism and for his knowledge of scientific things. This early acquaintance with Dr. Prince grew into a lasting friendship though Dr. Prince was many years his senior.

Dr. Prince had been thinking along scientific lines for several years, and he, too, had been recording his observations and his findings along these new lines of achievement. He was thoroughly informed as to the history and progress of medicine and surgery, and eagerly followed all the advances in his profession. Dr. Black was fascinated; nothing could have been more appreciated by, and helpful to this young dentist who was just beginning to see the vast field of professional and scientific thought opening before him, than was this acquaintance with Dr. David Prince.

It was during this period that he bought a microscope. A German physician recently emigrated from Germany brought a microscope with him. It was a little before this time that Pasteur's findings in the "world of the infinitely little" had been announced. Dr. Black quickly saw that the microscope offered a new field of opportunity. The study of reflection and refraction of light, the use of the lense in other fields of study absorbed him. He devoted himself to the study of micro-organisms and their relation to infection. He remodeled his microscope for the purpose, made apparatus for cutting sections, made his sterilizer and his incubators, made his own reostat for controlling temperature in the sterilizer and incubator; (his reostat was of metals which depended on their expansion for control). He hunted algae and infusoria along the waterways. Frogs, pollywogs and butterflies were requisitioned. The technique of mounting and preserving specimens he acquired. He cut the sections, stained and mounted them until he had gone over all the tissues of the body. He had hundreds of pathological specimens as well as sections of many insects and animals. His pathological specimens were largely from the surgical clinic of Dr. Prince. He was one of the first practical working histologists and pathologists in Illinois. He completely revolutionized his methods of study and of action to fit a changing world. From this time on, the trend of his work was wholly scientific. He took up his medical studies again, completed them, took his examinations, and received his license to practice medicine from the first Board of Medical Examiners of the state. When he came home, he was quite disgusted with the questions asked by the Board. Among them was one, "Describe the manufacture of illuminating gas from coal." Fortunately, only two days before this, he had taken his chemistry class down to the gas plant to watch the process of making gas. But he never *could* understand what the making of gas had to do with a Medical Board examination.

In 1870, the Microscopical Society was organized, in which physicians, dentists and teachers of scientific subjects were keenly interested. Several miscroscopes were available for use, and the members vied with each other in their interest in collecting material for the microscope. In microscopy, as in chemistry, he used teaching as a method of study. In his interest in microscopical work, he did not forget to study the tissues of the mouth and the teeth. To understand conditions of disease, he must understand normal conditions; he had studied pathology, so he must study histology, and he did it. It very soon became evident that it was the man behind the microscope that won the

microscopical game, for there was an infinite number of details which had to be mastered. It was the young people of this organization who were thrilled by the enthusiasm of this dentist and his microscope. They would do anything that he asked them to do. He had one group working for him among plants, one with infusoria, another with the earth-worm, while he worked among them all. They held regular meetings, exhibited specimens, and discussed methods of work. He had many visitors from St. Louis and Chicago who were interested in such work and realized its practical importance. Dentists in nearby towns heard of his work, and many of them journeyed to this laboratory of dental histology. At last, Dr. Black had convinced his colleagues that there was more to their profession than merely metallurgy and mechanics.

It is an old saying that "Every new advance generates new necessities." He must be able to read German and French in order to know what progressive work was going on in those countries. These two languages must be added to his extra-professional studies. As was his wont, he did this in his own way;—a German grammar, a German newspaper and a native German were his equipment. When the student himself furnishes the books and sets the pace, there will be progress. For a long time, he regularly went in the evening to the clothing store of a well educated German friend and talked German with him while they smoked their evening cigars. He studied French in the same intensive way. Then he took up again the study of the Latin language. He readily reached the place where he could speak French and German without embarrassment, and he easily read scientific publications in both languages. But the Latin was more difficult, probably because there was no way for every-day conversation.

His scientific work was beginning to attract more than local attention. This was especially true of his pathological and histological studies. From 1870 to 1880, he lectured in the Missouri Dental College on pathology, histology and operative dentistry. During this period, he carried on his studies and wrote prolifically. Most of these articles were written for dental organizations and their publications; some of them were for medical societies, and others were read before scientific and literary organizations. The variety of subjects that interested him is shown in the titles of the papers he prepared. Such topics as Typhoid Fever, read before the Morgan County Medical Society, must have taken months of preparation. "The Pathology of Scarlet Fever," "A Study of the Cicada," "Fossil Woods," "Wind and Storm," show the scope of the topics that were of special interest to him. Everything he undertook in the way of study on these and similar subjects, he tackled as if the problems had never been studied before. Sometimes he would work for months on the solution of a problem, and sometimes the months would extend to years. His study of the weather cycles of his native state was followed later by a series of lectures on Wind and Storm (1882) published in the report of the National Weather Bureau. Later came a study of trees, comparing the annual rings of a cross section of a tree with the weather bureau report for that year. Narrower annual rings of a tree were evidenced

during a drouth year and wider rings when there had been sufficient moisture. Often he found the number of annual rings of a tree greater than the number of years of annual Weather Bureau reports. This procedure was typical of his method of work, for he apparently took nothing for granted. Did he verify weather reports by checking them with the annual rings of trees? "The problem solved, his interest and activity ceased. He had served, but he served like a scientist, and there his service ended. There are scientists, economists and others who are interested in pressing practical problems, and who, having reached a scientific result, communicate it to the world and pass on to other problems."[3]

He was living the life of a scientist, making his investigations along new paths, in his own original way. He was appointed as the first president of the Illinois State Board of Dental Examiners, and served from 1881 to 1887; he was voted a life membership in the Illinois State Dental Society in 1889.

During all these later years, he had been much interested in the study of bacteriology, doubtless with the idea in his mind of investigating certain problems in dentistry. In 1884 he published "Formations of Poisons by Micro-Organisms." The first part of this book may be said to be historical; it deals with the development of dentistry; the second part is a report of Dr. Black's experimental work in the field of micro-organisms. "It was written," I quote his own words from the preface,—"because I had something to say that I thought ought to be said at the present time. The men who have been most instrumental in the development of this subject have given us little else than the experimental facts. These will satisfy the minds of but very few. Most of us appreciate any subject more if we understand why these things are so. It is this 'why' that I have sought to supply." Painstakingly he shows, carefully, so that you and I could understand, the relation of micro-organisms to caries of the teeth. This incident is told relative to the reception of this book by the scientific world. Very shortly after its publication, and while Dr. Black still lived in Jacksonville, he was working at the desk in his study. The doors were opened and some one had come into the room. When he turned around there stood a very distinguished looking elderly man. "Are you Dr. Black?" he asked. "Yes," answered Dr. Black. "Are you the Dr. Black who wrote 'Formations of Poisons by Micro-Organisms?'" "Yes, I am," came the answer. "Well," replied the stranger, "I have come many miles out of my way to shake your hand, and to congratulate you on having produced the greatest book of the kind on this subject." The stranger turned and left the study without another word, and Dr. Black had not the remotest idea who he was.

The opinions that Dr. Black gave to the profession were based on the results of his own investigations, carefully made and accurately recorded.

In 1887 was published another book for the dental profession *"The Periosteum and the Peridental Membrane."* Again I quote from the author,—"Almost entirely a record of personal observations, written for the lectures in the class-room, and offered to the profession with

the hope that it may supply the want for a more thorough study of the histological characters of the Periosteum and the Peridental Membrane." This text consists of 128 pages and carries 67 original illustrations.

In 1890 he published a Dental Anatomy which is used today in dental schools. Many editions have been exhausted. The author's introduction to the first edition of this book begins as follows: "By my experience as a practitioner, I have become convinced of a serious defect in the teaching of the details of the anatomy of the teeth, and in the systemization of the terms used in their description. What the dental student most wants in the college and in the office is a systematized nomenclature of the several parts of the teeth in detail, and such a description as will call his attention successively to every part of each tooth. It must be remembered that anatomy can not be learned from books alone. My aim has been to confine this book strictly to normal microscopic anatomy. Illustrations have all been made by the author for the purpose of illustrating, rather than as works of art. Each picture, in all its detail, is drawn from accurate measurements of the particular tooth in hand." This book carries 137 original illustrations and 161 pages of text.

The question of recurrence (of decay) after a filling had been made was a vexed problem to the dental profession in the years preceding 1891-1895. During these years Dr. Black tested the plan of his own procedures and formulated a workable hypothesis for the profession, announcing at the same time the slogan "Extension for Prevention," which spread like wild fire. The only organized opposition to anything ever formulated by him was organized in an eastern city to combat this theory. It never phased him. He did not argue his point for he had stated the facts that he had verified. He simply said, "All of these men will come to my point of view in the end," and they did. One of the distinctive traits of character of Dr. Black was that he rarely offended anyone with whom he disagreed, and he never argued any question just for the sake of argument.

Amalgam[4] had not been perfectly satisfactory to the dental profession during the fifty or sixty years of its use (since 1839). In 1895 Dr. Black "decided to find out why it failed in so many cases." He developed the following plan for carrying on this experimental work on a large scale. This plan involved, "First, the designing and the building of a micrometer that would accurately measure to the 1-10,000 of an inch or to 1-25,000 of an inch, either of which would be practical. Such an instrument could not be bought for there was none in existence. Second, there must be a binocular microscope to prove up the work of the micrometer. This microscope would show the amount of shrinkage to the dentists. Men believe the things they see with their own eyes. I examined most of the amalgams on the market and sufficiently demonstrated their worthlessness. (Results reported in Dental Cosmos May, 1895.) Third, was to find out what the manufacturers knew about amalgams. They co-operated in the fullest possible way, furnished formulas and samples of their amalgams, information about their processes in the making of amalgams." Now he was

ready for work. His final report to the profession consists of many pages devoted to minute descriptions of this experimental work, and to his conclusions drawn from his findings on this subject. At this time tremendous efforts were made by individuals and by makers of dental supplies to persuade him to commercialize the results of this experimental work in amalgam. He really had the amalgam business in the palm of his hand, and a great fortune could easily be made. His very definite answer to this pressure was to publish his findings in Dental Journals, and to invite the manufacturers of dental supplies, with their experts, to come to his laboratory to observe this work. This is loyalty to his profession, as well as to his own high ideals of professional and scientific rectitude.

Emerson says[5]: "Genius is an exponent of a vaster mind and will. The secret of genius is to suffer no fiction to exist for us, to realize all that we know; in arts and science, in men, to exact good faith and purpose, and to know every truth by use."

In 1899, another book was published on "Technical Procedure,[6] printed for the students of Northwestern University Dental School, intended to fill an immediate and pressing want in the particular field to which it is devoted,—the technical procedure of filling teeth. The book is intended to answer a temporary purpose only, or until a more complete work can be prepared. It is intended for the students of the school and not for the general profession."

The publication of these several books was not his only scientific contribution during this period. The list of his published and unpublished papers shows that he wrote prolifically on a great many subjects at this time. In addition to his writing, he was lecturing regularly in Dental Colleges, and each lecture was prepared and written with the utmost care. We should not forget that all of this writing was done by his own hand, and that he made the drawings and pictures with which they were illustrated.

In 1903 Dr. Greene Vardiman Black was the chairman of the committee on Dental Nomenclature of the Columbian Dental Congress. The chairmanship carried with it months of work and time and study in searching for dental terms prevailing at that time in the publications of English, French and German writers. The result of the work of this committee is a revised Dental Nomenclature. The terms used in dentistry had grown up in a more or less haphazard way, and he had long felt the need of more exact technical terms. The Columbian Dental Congress was representative of all nations. Dr. Black took the opportunity to recommend the adoption of a more orderly nomenclature.

In 1908 Dr. Black published a two volume work on Operative Dentistry. I quote from his preface: "While the author has not been unmindful of the needs of the general practitioner in the preparation of this work, it has been planned especially for the student. ..... The illustrations are original, and with few exceptions, made by myself. Dr. F. B. Noyes has made the photographs and the photo-micrographs from specimens of my personal preparation, from materials

gathered by me, and which remained under my personal observation and study during the entire process."

"The subject matter in the second volume will be confined to technical procedures." Volume one contains 319 pages and 187 illustrations, and volume two contains 403 pages and 447 illustrations.

An examination of his various books will show his unusual ability in pen-drawing, as well as various other methods of producing carefully selected and accurate illustrations.

The Special Dental Pathology was published in 1915, after he had reached the top round of the ladder built of his contributions to the dental profession. About this particular work he says, "It was in the process of being written for five years, delayed that the author might carry out long lines of experimental work upon several subjects which needed further investigation. A strictly dental disease is one that is peculiar to the teeth or their membranes (either in its causation, or in the tissue to which it is confined), and which cannot occur elsewhere in the body. Teeth and their adjuncts are in a class by themselves. The study of their pathology is unlike the pathology of any other part of the body." The two volumes on Operative Dentistry and this Special Dental Pathology, if nothing else had ever been written, are a tremendous contribution to Dental Education.

A writer and teacher he had been all his life. The secret of his success as a teacher has been in his ability to create in his students an interest in science, and in the importance of scientific methods in dental work. He lectured in colleges for more than forty years:

Missouri Dental College, 1870-1880.
Chicago College of Dental Surgery, 1883-1889.
Dental School of Iowa University, 1890-1891.
Dental School, Northwestern University, 1891-1897.
Dean, Northwestern University D. S., 1897-1915.

Not only has Dr. Black been a voluminous writer, but he has worked in a practical way and invented machines and apparatus to facilitate his work. He planned and built new forms of machinery and apparatus as he felt the need of them to carry on his work. We have spoken of his invention of a cord-driven engine, and of his enthusiasm in building a micrometer that would measure accurately the shrinkage (or the expansion) of amalgam of 1-10,000 of an inch, and if this had not proved efficient in its measurements, he would not have hesitated to have built another micrometer that would measure 1-25,000 of an inch. Nothing daunted him because it was difficult. Among other machines he designed and built is one for grinding hard substances thin enough to make microscopical slides. This machine was the first of its kind ever thought of. Then followed the designing of an instrument for testing finger pressure (manudynamometer), and after this, an instrument for measuring the force of mallet blows (tuptodynamometer) and another for measuring the amount of force required to masticate various foods, (phagodynamometer) and still another machine for measuring the strength of the bite (gnathodynamometer), and there were many smaller devices built to simplify methods of work.

Dr. Black's last contribution to dental literature was a paper written for the Panama-Pacific Dental Congress meeting in San Fran-

cisco in the summer of 1915. The subject of this paper was "Mottled Teeth." In 1909 he had spent six weeks in the Rocky Mountain region for the purpose of observing the peculiar imperfection of permanent teeth, a defect which greatly disfigured many of the people living in that locality. He spent several years in experimental work seeking the cause and a remedy for the imperfection. This paper was a report of his findings on this subject, with recommendations for treatment. This paper was finished in July, 1915.

In the span of life of Dr. Black can be seen the development of dentistry from a mechanical art, almost a trade, to its place in the ranks of the dignified scientific professions (metallurgy, chemistry, histology, pathology, bacteriology, oral surgery).

Our young and obscure dentist of 1860 had progressed to the highest places in his chosen profession, and had become Dean of the largest Dental School in the world. It has been my purpose to give you a brief, and necessarily incomplete view of some of the factors, true to the basic principles of work and study which entered into the development and final success of Greene Vardiman Black. The years had passed and honors had come to this dentist of the great middle west. He was Dean of Northwestern University Dental School from 1897-1915. In 1905 he was awarded the First Fellowship Medal by the Dental Society of the State of New York for Scientific Research. In 1906 he was the guest of the American Dentists in Europe, and delivered two lectures to them in Berlin, Germany. In 1910 he was the guest of honor of the Chicago Dental Society at a testimonial banquet given by them, as a recognition of his scientific accomplishments and his contribution to dentistry. In 1910 he was awarded the Miller Prize for his contributions to the science, and to the literature of Dentistry, by the International Dental Federation, in session in Paris.

In 1877 the Missouri Dental College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Dental Science. In 1884 the Chicago Medical College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Other degrees conferred were as follows:

In 1892, Sc.D., Illinois College.
In 1898, LL. D., Northwestern University.
In 1915, Sc. D., University of Pennsylvania.

These degrees were granted to him as a recognition of his achievements and of his contributions to the literature and the science of Dentistry. "Surely of more importance than the number of people in a country are the type and the character of those people."[7] This, we must remember if our country is to continue great among nations.

While such a life as I have sketched is crowned with rich reward in the end, there is another side which cannot be overlooked. Here is a man endowed with an insatiable desire for facts that would answer the questioning of his own mind. Most of his life was lived before science had achieved a place of its own in the minds and hearts of men. Science had a long struggle for recognition. It was almost the turn of the twentieth century before it really came into its own. Greene Vardiman Black was a part of this great conflict. Those earlier years of persistent fact-finding, now recognized as scientific effort, required

no small amount of courage and optimism. Yes, it took real heroism and such an amount of self-denial as few can give.

Here was a man personally popular, a lover of music and art, with family and friends, willing for the sake of his professional ideal to withdraw himself from the things he loved, and to bury himself in scientific research. This work brought to him the satisfaction of achievement. The things he felt he should do were so compelling that he could not put them aside. He seemed born to seek, to investigate, to analyze, to make deductions, to write, to lecture, and to publish to the world those facts and deductions which the world needed.

There was always one satisfaction for him. Wherever he presented his work to the leaders of his profession, he received recognition from them and encouragement for further effort. But he must go further and convert this recognition into a great co-operative professional effort for better methods, better work and higher ideals. It was a long fight for higher standards, with an enormous amount of labor and many set-backs. But it was finally crowned with success. He had made himself an important cog in the machinery which converted a trade into a great and lasting profession.

In considering the work and accomplishments of Greene Vardiman Black, one important fact must be taken into consideration. While he was devoting hours each day to writing and research, he was under the necessity of providing for his family, educating his children and trying to lay by a little for the inevitable "rainy day." He kept his professional engagements punctilliously, and each day from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon found him at the chair. These things we have been reciting had to be done after office hours. The hours of the evening and the night had to be drawn on heavily and constantly. It was rare for his light to be out before midnight, and all too frequently, two and three o'clock in the morning found him still at work. Yet he found time for vacations. A day in the country now and then, always a trip to Michigan in the summer for a few weeks on the lakes. He had his own boat at Petoskey, and nearly always took a congenial friend with him. Not a scientific friend, for on these excursions, work was left behind, and he gave himself up to camping and hunting and fishing and sailing.

Just a few weeks after his last paper was finished, Dr. Black died at Walnut Grove Farm, his boyhood home, August 31, 1915, surrounded by his family. There survived him at the time of his death, his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Davenport Black and four children, Carl E. Black of Jacksonville, Miss Clara Black of Evanston, Illinois, Dr. Arthur D. Black of Chicago, Illinois, and Mrs. Mark Baldwin of Duluth, Minnesota. Funeral services were held for him at the residence of his son, Dr. Carl E. Black in Jacksonville. He was buried in beautiful Diamond Grove Cemetery in Jacksonville. Mrs. Black's death occurred in 1922.

Success is the compensation for a life of work and devotion to high scientific ideals. Few of the men who aided in placing science in its proper relations received more appreciation than Greene Vardiman Black. Members of his profession were lavish in their expression of appreciation. Soon after his death, the National Dental Association

started a movement to erect a statue of him in Chicago. There was an immediate and generous response with the result that on August 8, 1918, a wonderful and appropriate statue was placed in Lincoln Park. During a session of that Association, at the time of its unveiling, this was said to be the only statue of a native son of Illinois in any of the Chicago parks. Many Dental Schools have placed busts of Greene Vardiman Black in their halls. The University of London and the Dental School in Rome and some other foreign schools have unveiled busts of him. In the Public Library in Jacksonville, a bust of him was presented by the local Dental Society. Dr. Black was a member of the committee that organized the first public library in Jacksonville.

While his life was one of toil in the interests of science and in the achievement of high professional ideals, the recognition of his worth during his life, and the honors following his death have been rewards which come to but few.

The Memorial established by Northwestern University is in connection with the Dental School. This consists of three large rooms in the north front of the tower. As one enters from the corridor, there is a bust of Greene Vardiman Black. Beyond this is a large room in which all of his manuscripts, instruments, apparatus and gifts from organizations are well arranged in glass cases. Turning to the right is a third room which is a reproduction of his operating room in the East State Street office in Jacksonville. This room was the scene of most of his professional labors, and its reproduction here is a fitting tribute to his memory. The furniture he used is installed here. The woodwork from the room in Jacksonville was sent to Chicago in order to finish this room as nearly as possible like the one in Jacksonville. A bay window was built in the same relative location and of the same dimensions as in the original room. His operating chair was placed in this window. Even the views from these windows are preserved in painted scenes, so that one seems to be looking out upon the houses, yards, trees and streets, just as he did when standing at his chair. The whole thing is so realistically done that one familiar with the room in Jacksonville would think he was really back in the old office. Of all the memorials to Dr. Black, this is the most striking and the most unique. When this great University was planning its new Dental School, space was especially reserved for this tribute to Greene Vardiman Black, its Dean, whose greatest interest throughout a busy, scientific and professional life had been to encourage, to organize, and to develop Dental Education.

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[2] Dr. Thomas L. Gilmer, Dean of N. W. U. Dental School, 1915.
[3] Flexner, "Universities," p. 132.
[4] Black, "Operative Dentistry," v. 2, p. 306.
[5] Emerson's Essays.
[6] Black, "Technical Procedures," quoted from preface.
[7] Stoddard, Reforging America."

[8] The writer gratefully acknowledges her indebtedness to Dr. Carl E. Black for information relative to Dr. Clark Roberts and Dr. David Prince and for data of the Black family.

[9] The "Appendix" is necessary to show the volume of production, as well as the variety of subjects in the writings of Greene Vardiman Black.

APPENDIX

A List of the Writings of G. V. Black, M. D., D. D. S., Sc. D., LL. D. Arranged by Arthur D. Black, A. M., D. D. S., M. D.

Note.—This list has been compiled from available data but there are doubtless some omissions. The files of the Dental Cosmos, Dental Review, and the Transactions of the Illinois State Dental Society, which contain most of Dr. Black's writings, have been thoroughly searched, and many other journals have been reviewed. The list also includes the titles of many papers and essays on subjects aside from dentistry. A considerable number of these have never been published, but the original manuscripts of all have been preserved.

Books

The Formation of Poisons by Micro-organisms. 178 pp. P. Blakiston, Son & Co., Philadelphia, 1884.

Chapters in the American System of Dentistry (Litch) on the following subjects: General Pathology, Vol. 1, p. 661., 68 pp., 32 Illus. Dental Caries, Vol. 1, p. 729, 100 pp. 38 Illus. Pathology of the Dental Pulp, Vol. 1, p. 829, 60 pp. 41 Illus. Diseases of the Peridental Membrane, Vol. 1, p. 918, 85 pp., 48 Illus. Abrasion and Erosion of the Teeth, Vol. 1, p. 993, 18 pp., 6 Illus. Lea Brothers & Co., Philadelphia, 1886.

A Study of the Histological Characters of the Periosteum and Peridental Membrane. 138 pp., 67 original illustrations. W. T. Keener Co., Chicago, 1887.

Notes and Additions to a Compendium of Denistry by Jul Parreidt. (Translation by Louis Ottofy) 229 pp. W. T. Keener Co., Chicago, 1889.

Descriptive Anatomy of the Human Teeth. 161 pp., 137 original illustrations. Wilmington Dental Mfg. Co., Philadelphia, 1890.

A Work on Operative Dentistry in Two Volumes. Vol. 1. The Pathology of the Hard Tissues of the Teeth, 319 pp. 187 Illus. Vol. 2. The Technical Procedures in Filling Teeth, 403 pp., 447 Illus. Medico-Dental Publishing Co., Chicago, 1908.

A Work on Special Dental Pathology. xxviii, 476 pp. 518 illustrations. Medico-Dental Publishing Co., Chicago. Claudius Ash, Sons & Co., London, 1915.

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1867

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Zoological Chemistry. 148 p. Series of lectures before a class in chemistry, Jacksonville, Ill., 1867. Unpublished.

Spray Producers. (For administering anesthetics) 16 p., 1867. Unpublished.

1868

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Plugging Pulp Cavities and Canals, Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1868, p. 37.

1869

Gold Foil. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 283. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 12, 1870, p. 92.

Filling Teeth. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc., Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 305.

Alveolar Abscess—It's History, Pathology and Treatment. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc., Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, p. 329.

A New Method of Grafting Crowns on the Roots of Teeth. Missouri Den, Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 233.

A Report of Cases of Absorption of Dentine by the Pulps of Teeth, due to Irritation. Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 411.

Ammoniated Gold Foil. Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 414.

Cicatrices of the Gums. Missouri Den. Jnl., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 518.

1870

Exposed Pulps. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1870, p. 6. Disc. p. 18. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 12, 1870, p. 363. Disc. p. 364.

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Complicate Fillings. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1870, p. 46. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 12, 1870, p. 367, 368.

Separating Teeth. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1870, p. 54, 60. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 12, 1870, p. 369, 370.

Dental Legislation and Plate Work. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1870, p. 82. Disc. p. 87, 89, 102.

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1871

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Oral Lathe, Report of Committee on Invention of Same. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1871, p. 106. Dental Cosmos, Vol 13, 1871, p. 415.

Alveolar Abscess. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1871, p. 124, 126.

1872

Sound Practice, Sound Philosophy, (Re Use of Mallet) Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1872, p. 59. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 14, 1872, p. 427.

Sensation and Nourishment in Dentine. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1872, p. 97. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 14, 1872, p. 482.

1873

Causes of Various Colors in Decayed Teeth. 27 p. Miss. Valley Den. Soc., 1873. Unpublished.

Abrasion and Erosion. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1873, p. 63. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 15, 1873, p. 541.

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May the Calcific Elements of the Deciduous Teeth be Appropriated in the Formation of the Permanent Ones? Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1873, p. 86. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 15, 1873, p. 549.

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Diseased Conditions: Their Effects Upon the Teeth. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1873, p. 129. Disc. p. 143.

Mechanical Dentistry. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1873, p. 158.

Prevention and Treatment of Decay on Proximal Surfaces of the Teeth. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1873, p. 191.

1874

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What are the Best Materials for Filling Roots of Teeth. Discussion. Miss. Valley and Mo. Den. Soc. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 16, 1874, p. 301.

Causes that underly the Decay and Loss of the Teeth. Discussion. Miss. Valley and Mo. Den. Soc. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 16, 1874, p. 305.

Dental Students. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1874, p. 32. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 16, 1874, p. 466.

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Celluloid. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1874, p. 108. Dental Cosmos, Vol. 16, 1874, p. 609.

1875

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Electicism in Dental Practice. Discussion. Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1876, p. 46.

In what does the Improvement in Dentistry during the Last Fifteen Years Consist? Ill. S. Den. Soc. Transactions, 1876, p. 58.

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1879

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1883

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1884

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AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ILLINOIS

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Many different phases of the history of Illinois have been thoroughly investigated and the results recorded in an adequate and interesting manner. It would seem, at first, little yet remained to be studied. However, there is one phase of Illinois history that has not been fully investigated, namely, the complete story of the history and development of the early architecture in the State. Every historical account of Illinois, of any extent, has, of necessity, touched upon some phase of the building activities of the people of the State although a complete and separate recording of their architectural progress has never been made.

Architecture, or the art of building, is one kind of historic document, not in writing, but in stone, brick, wood, or other material. Through their building operations, a people leave unmistakable evidence of their character and ideals, consequently, the architectural remains of a people are of great interest and value to the historian. The simple architectural remains of the early settlers of Illinois are of vital importance in the history of the State. The pioneers, in the process of development of the State, erected a great variety of structures ranging from the humble cabin to the monumental State House. A study of the old houses, taverns, hotels, churches, court houses, schools, institutional building and other private and public structures of Illinois, will bring to light much of historic interest and value. The complete story of the building activities of the early inhabitants of Illinois may be rightfully considered one phase of her whole history and development, and is well worthy of being recorded. The purpose of this paper is to give an outline of the development of the building arts, in the State, and to point out some of the more important influences that operated to shape the character of the architecture of the State, each phase of which would in itself warrant a further detailed study.

Although the recorded history of Illinois begins with the Jesuit missionaries and Canadian explorers, yet there is a far earlier—almost unknown history—which reaches back into the dim mysterious past. Scattered widely over the State, are the crude architectural remains of an ancient people, exhibiting a culture wholly unlike that of the Indian as first known to the white explorer. The Indians were roving tribes of savages, uncultured and without fixed habitations, and therefore no architecture, except of the crudest type. These Indians had only vague traditions concerning their own origin or ancestry, while

of their predecessors, whose monuments were all about them, they did not possess even a vague legend.

There is now sufficient and conclusive evidence that long before the red Indian came in possession of the Illinois country, there had lived here a race, large in population, that had attained a relatively high degree of primitive culture and civilization. And here it should be recorded that the knowledge we have attained of the ancient inhabitants of Illinois, has been acquired entirely through the archaeological and architectural remains that have come down to us. Simple archaeological findings, of burial places, skeletons, and small art objects may give evidence of the existence of a people at some early date, but it is from their architectural monuments, the number and size of mounds, fortifications, town sites, altars, and temples, that we have learned what manner of people they were and what degree of civilization they had reached.

These ancient peoples have been named the Mound-builders, because most of their architectural remains are in the form of mounds. They seem to have been numerous in the entire Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, although some authorities believe that southern Illinois was their chief center of activities. There is still a difference of opinion whether this race was an exodus of the semi-civilization of Central America, or an entirely different race, now totally extinct. Some phases of the Mound-builders' work in Illinois seem to indicate that they were remotely related to some of the prehistoric races of Central America, or Mexico, and may have been primitive colonies of those older building races, who had pushed far to the north. There is another theory, namely, that the Mound-builders of Illinois were just another branch of the red race, not unlike the Creeks, the Natchez and other southern types of American Indians. They may have been but one of several successive waves of primitive races to live in the Illinois country.

Whatever their origin, they are of special interest to us, for they gave Illinois her first architectural monuments, and through them, in turn we have learned something of the peoples themselves. They had a religion,—a form of sun worship; a system of burial; primitive art industries, of pottery making and weaving; they tilled the soil and raised grain; had fixed habitations and developed a well defined, though primitive type of architecture. It is because of their mounds that they are best known to us, those in the vicinity of Cahokia being the largest and most renowned. This work is far inferior to that of the ancient Maya in Central America, the Aztecs of Mexico, or even that of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, yet had the Mound-builders been permitted to remain in Illinois, undisturbed, they would probably have produced in time, a more durable architecture.

The age of the mounds at Cahokia is a matter of conjecture. They were covered with heavy forest trees, when the first white men came two hundred and fifty years ago. It is estimated that it would have taken one thousand men five years to build Monk's Mound alone, which would indicate a very populous and highly organized community.

In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the works of the earliest inhabitants of our State. Further excavations and research, among the existing mounds, may yet bring to light sufficient knowledge of the Mound-builders and their predecessors, to enable the historian to reconstruct the story of their life; whence they came, how they lived and when and why they passed out of existence.

Through the preservation of the Cahokia Mounds, the State, the Nation and the World, will have saved for future generations the most important work left by a prehistoric race on the American Continent. The great mound of Cahokia, the so called Monk's Mound, is comparable in size and historic importance to the great pyramids of Egypt, and subsequent investigations may yet prove the ancient builders of the Mississippi Valley to have rivaled, in antiquity, the ancient Pharaohs of the Valley of the Nile.

Long before European settlers reached America, the Mound-builders seem to have become extinct or were completely absorbed by the Indian race. The early explorers found only the red Indian in possession of the Mississippi Valley. Whatever the racial character of the Indians, this is certain, they were not a building race, but were of a roving warlike disposition, living in temporary wigwams constructed of the skins of animals, or of the bark of trees, or other crude primitive shelters. They were stone-age savages, banded together in tribes. They had developed certain native arts, in which they showed some degree of skill, but it seems that the art of building had not been awakened in them. Consequently they left us no architectural heritage and practically all of their art passed with them as they were driven westward by the white settlers.

Many descriptions of the crude culture, arts, customs, and manner of living have been left us by early explorers, traders, and settlers. Frequently, these early writers have described Indian villages of considerable size, but even these were little more than favorite camping grounds, to which they might return again and again, in season, but when threatened by an enemy, might be moved overnight. The early French explorers, hunters, traders, and settlers, found the lands now comprising our State to be inhabited by numerous Indian tribes, all extremely warlike, cruel, and unprogressive. One group, however, who called themselves the Illini, seems to have shown some degree of friendliness and some promise in the matter of colonization, and for a time it seemed as if there might be a new and modified race of French and Indian peoples, capable of holding and developing the country. Of the many Indian villages that once dotted this area, very little remains to even mark their sites although recent excavations have brought a few to light. Perhaps the most famous Indian village was that of old Kaskaskia, but even the site of this is practically extinct today.

Of Indian architecture nothing is left to us. They were a retarded race, still living in the Stone Age, and developing very slowly. Being of a nomadic type, they had only a tent, or primitive hut architecture, all of which has disappeared. However, as in the case of the Mound-builders, if the Indian races of Illinois country had been left to their own resources for a long period of time, they would, no doubt, have

developed a culture and an architecture indigenous to Illinois. But destiny seems to have decreed that European culture was to be the civilizing influence of America, and of the Illinois.

The first white men to visit the Illinois country and to remain for any length of time, or who in any way affected the life of the natives or their mode of building, were the French and Canadian explorers. Their coming was the first step in the change from native to foreign influence, which in time was to completely dominate the Illinois area, to the almost complete extinction of the native races. With the foreign peoples was to come, also, a foreign architecture.

Following the explorers came the traders and hunters. Although they engaged in trapping and hunting to some degree, it was from the Indian that they obtained most of the furs and other objects of trade, which they obtained usually through barter. In time regular trading posts were established, and crude shelters erected. Some of these became almost permanent locations, and towns were afterward established on the same sites.

While the chief purpose of these posts was to carry on trade with the Indians, the missionaries were no less active. One of the peculiar characteristics of the early French occupation, and their method of colonization, was that soldiers at arms, and soldiers of the cross went hand in hand. The missionaries traveled with the soldiers and traders for protection, and generally established their missions in the same vicinity. The earliest of these French and Canadian traders of this period did not bring their families along; neither was it their intention to settle permanently in the country; consequently, there was little gained from this class, towards the building of civilized communities. At a later period, however, some progress was made in this respect.

Since both the English and Spanish also desired to gain control of this vast Mississippi Valley area, the French found it necessary to build forts, in order to hold the country. LaSalle had explored the whole area from Canada to the Gulf, and then returned to the Illinois country to establish a fort from which, as a center, he hoped to organize the whole Valley, and to develop a "New France" in America.

Although the first and primary purpose of the forts was to hold the country for France, they served another and immediate purpose, namely that they gave some sense of protection and encouraged settlements of a more permanent nature. The French forts were, no doubt, the first type of architecture of any magnitude, erected in Illinois by white men.

These French forts, although now of little importance architecturally were, nevertheless, important factors in the settlement of the country. The earliest, such as Fort St. Louis, was of a crude palisade type, although the later ones, especially Fort Chartres, was so carefully designed and constructed that it is said to have been the strongest fortification in the whole United States, during its time. This has been preserved, and restored to some extent, so that it is possible to see today what the French-Illinois military architecture of two hundred years ago was like.

At a later date, the United States Government built other forts, for the protection of American settlers. Although of a rough type of architecture, they were nevertheless, very important factors in the settlement of the country. Of all these later forts, perhaps Fort Dearborn was the largest and most important, and built of native timber, in a manner which had already been well developed in the Eastern states.

Since the French forts offered some degree of protection, French and Canadian traders came into the Illinois country in large numbers, and often set up temporary living quarters near the forts. Trading with the Indians was soon highly developed, and numerous trading posts were established, some of which became semi-permanent in character. Still later the English, and also the American traders followed the same method of establishing trading posts, and of these the ruins of several are known to be in existence today. Although the buildings connected with a trading post were usually of primitive wooden construction, a few were built of local stone, and were relatively permanent. Although the architecture of the trading posts may have exerted but little influence upon later work in Illinois, the posts were important factors, in that they paved the way for the more permanent French settlements which were to follow.

The first French settlements were those in the vicinity of Fort St. Louis, established by LaSalle. When this was abandoned, many of the settlers moved on down to Kaskaskia, then a newly established French and Indian village, but with the coming of ever increasing numbers of French, it soon became a typical and important French settlement. Other French villages sprang up in the vicinity, but Kaskaskia always remained the largest and most important. These villages or settlements were much alike. Kaskaskia was, perhaps, the most picturesque of the villages, and a variety of architectural forms fronted on the narrow stone-paved streets, although most of the houses were of the primitive French style, low and broad, with dormer windows and spacious porches. Some of the better homes were of brick, which had been transported far down the Ohio, while a few were constructed of stone, quarried from the neighboring bluffs. The courthouse, the House of the Jesuits, and the spacious home of John Edgar, were perhaps the most notable of these. Across the river were other houses such as that of Pierre Menard, which today is the sole survivor of French architecture in this vicinity. There are a few remains in other early French towns, but most of this early work has disappeared.

Throughout the eighteenth century the French settlements were the only important ones in Illinois. There were many American squatters, hunters and traders, in the territory, but little in the way of organized communities. Americanization of the territory was of course authorized and inevitable, and by 1800 there was a distinct movement of venturous pioneers across the Ohio and the Wabash into Illinois. There were several well defined waves of these pioneer American settlers. The first was of a class of hunters and hunter-farmers, from Kentucky and Tennessee, men who lived largely by means of the rifle,

but who cut down or killed a few trees and tilled small patches of ground. This first wave was soon followed by another, of a more industrious class of men, who came to secure the land for homes. They secured titles to their lands, made permanent improvements, tilled the land, and aided in the erection of early schools, churches and mills, and formed the first permanent American settlements. In 1810 a great wave of immigration from Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee began. The bulk of population of Southern Illinois of this period was made up of these southern people.

Following this came a third class of settlers, from the East. These were the men of means, the young merchants, lawyers, and other professional men. Although raised and educated in the East, they were lured into the western country because of the opportunities open to settlers there. These were fewer in number, but they often became the leaders in the upbuilding of the affairs of the State. They built large houses, and gave some tone of culture to the rough settlements. These New England settlers, as a rule, selected the northern half of the State.

As a result of a large number of settlers coming from the Southern and Eastern states, and the establishing of permanent homes and towns, Illinois was to have a more permanent type of architecture and, for the first time, a style that might be considered belonging to the State.

The first true American type of architecture in Illinois was the log cabin—used alike for house, barn, church, and school. At a much earlier date the French had introduced the palisade type of log construction,—a system in which the logs were placed vertically and set into the ground,—but in the true American cabin the logs were laid horizontally, notched at the corners, and the cracks filled with a mixture of clay and straw. The earliest of these were very crude, the logs being left in the rough, but in later work the logs were hewn to uniform size and thickness, and the whole cabin carefully constructed. The building of log structures became something of a science and an art. The broad-axe artist soon learned to make fine timbers, and cabins often attained picturesque effects. Because of the ravages of time and neglect, none of the old cabins of this period are in existence today, although some of a much later period, but of similar construction, may be found.

The construction of mills was an important factor in the early settlement of Illinois. They exerted a potent influence not only upon the life of the settlers, but also upon the development of architecture. This is especially true with respect to the sawmill, which had a most direct influence upon the types and methods of construction of the earliest frame architecture of the State.

Several types of mills were developed in Illinois: the water-power mill, the windmill, the horse-power mill, and still later the steam-power mill. The water-power mills were at first equipped with wheels of the over-shot type, that is, the wheel set vertically while in later types the wheel was set horizontally. The horse-power mills were operated by horses or oxen.

The power produced in the early mills was used to operate either a grist mill, a sawmill, or as a rule, both. From the standpoint of architecture the sawmill is the most important type, and its introduction into Illinois resulted in making available a large and cheaper supply of building materials, that was to change the mode of building from log construction to a framed construction, of sawed timbers and boards.

The mill-wright was an important man in the development of Illinois. Early settlements were along rivers and the chief means of transportation was by boat. The sawmill made possible the change from crude log cabins to the more livable frame houses, and gave a greater supply of building materials, of varying sizes, easier to frame, and providing a faster mode of construction.

Water mills could be operated on streams or rivers only. The horse-power mill, on the other hand, was portable, and could be set up anywhere, and thus made possible mills on the prairies and other points distant from the river. Windmills, like horsepower mills, could be located anywhere, but did not supply sufficient power for sawing lumber. The first saw mills were established by the French, and later the early American settlers built many others. There is a wealth of interesting historic material hidden away in old accounts of travel, and in the annals of the early settlers concerning mills, that is worthy of being collected. There are also the ruins of numerous mills still extant, and the sites of many others are known. Research in this field alone would add much to the general history of Illinois, as well as in the special field of architecture.

With sawmills established at many points in the State, the resulting supply of building lumber placed Illinois on an equal basis with Southern and Eastern states, and made possible the erection of building in the same manner as in the older states. Frame construction became the principal mode of building, and Southern and Eastern settlers began to erect houses that resembled those in their home communities. For some time there had been considerable influence coming into Illinois from the Southern states. Following the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and the formation of the Northwest Territory, Illinois was destined to come under the influence of the Eastern states. Settlers began pouring in, there was a resulting increase of construction, which took on a distinct Eastern flavor. The settlers coming from the East where architectural traditions were well formed, followed the methods to which they were accustomed, consequently the Post-Colonial and Georgian styles of the East were introduced into Illinois.

Aside from the general building traditions brought into Illinois by the settlers, there was another and even stronger influence, namely, that of the carpenters and mechanics, trained in the South or East, who came to Illinois, seeking work. Craftsmen develop standard methods for carrying on their work, which often become almost a tradition. The early carpenters and mechanics coming into Illinois introduced the traditional methods of their home communities. Since these craftsmen were called upon not only to construct, but also to design or plan as well, they were directly responsible for introducing the styles they were familiar with. They brought their tools with them

and before the day of planing mills, prepared all of the finishing material and designed and constructed most of the finer parts of their buildings, such as doors, mantels, stairways, and interior trim. The master carpenter, who was often a designer as well, was a most influential man in the history of early Illinois architecture, and the finest of the work executed may be credited to builders of this type, who are generally classified as carpenter-architects.

Since the early carpenter-architects were called upon to design structures, as well as to build them, it was necessary for them to acquire some practical knowledge of plans, and of the principal elements of architecture. These builders were self-trained, in the art of planning and drawing, their knowledge being obtained from the "carpenters' handbooks" that were being published in the East, and which were widely used throughout the country. There were a number of handbook writers at work in the East, but the most influential of all was Asher Benjamin. He began his career as a carpenter and builder in the Connecticut Valley, where he published his first book. Later he removed to Boston where he practiced architecture and continued to write practical handbooks, for carpenter-architects. Knowing the needs of the practical carpenter-designer, he was able to write very useful books for them. His books found their way to the remotest parts of Illinois, and many buildings still standing in the State today, show the direct influence of his designs, and details of construction. The carpenter-architect, with the aid of the carpenter's handbook, took the place of the architect, during the early days in Illinois.

The genesis of house architecture in Illinois seems to be: (a) Log cabin, (b) the frame house, (c) the house of brick. In some instances, however, where lumber was not available, the brick house followed the log cabin or temporary shelter. This was particularly true of the northern and central prairie regions. In other cases sawmills were not yet introduced and as a result, brick houses, instead of frame, were built, at a relatively early date.

In some of the more advanced towns and communities, like Shawneetown and Kaskaskia, and along rivers generally, brick could be readily imported, by boat, consequently some fine brick houses appeared even in pioneer times, in the river towns. Once sufficient wealth had been accumulated, brick houses were desired, and at an early period Illinois had a well defined type of brick architecture.

In outlying areas where river transportation was lacking, and where manufactured lumber could not be readily obtained, brick was frequently made on or near the site of a building. The settlers from the older states, both South and East, knew how to make brick and they set up brick plants when they came to Illinois. As the towns grew and a greater number of settlers came in, there was often a heavy demand for brick for all kinds of structures, which resulted in a development of the brick making industry on a commercial basis. Soon, hundreds of brick yards dotted the whole of Illinois and every town of any size boasted of at least one brick manufacturing plant. These became as important as sawmills, in their influence upon early Illinois architecture.

With a wealth of good brick making earth, Illinois was destined to rank high in this industry, and in turn brick architecture was to show the result of an abundance of this product. From earliest times on down to the present, brick architecture has been one of the outstanding types in the State. Brick architecture is distinctly at home in Illinois.

Of the hundreds of local brick plants that were once operated in the State, a few have grown into large modern commercial plants; the ruins of a few others remain, and the sites of many are known, but otherwise there is no visible evidence today of these one-time familiar landmarks.

Brick masons, from the south and east, came into Illinois at a very early date. Examples of their work still exist in such old settlements as Shawneetown, where brick houses dating from Territorial days may still be found, and their soundness of construction today indicates that the craftsmen were well trained. The brick masons, like the carpenters, brought with them not only a knowledge of construction, but also ideas of architectural design, and much of early Illinois architecture shows the influence of the communities from which the masons came. Thus, many of the brick homes in southern Illinois show a marked resemblance to the Kentucky and Tennessee types, while those in the central and northern part of the state exhibit many features indicating New England and Eastern lineage. This, like many other phases of early Illinois architecture, offers a most interesting field for investigation and research.

In localities where stone was readily obtained it was occasionally used for building purposes, in early Illinois work. Settlers always chose the material close at hand, that most easily obtained, and the most easily used. It was easier to use wood than stone, for a higher degree of skill is required for doing stone masonry than simple carpenter work. Stone construction required more time and labor and was therefore more expensive.

However there were many instances, during the early building period when stone was used. There were many places where stones could be obtained, and when the settlers had been accustomed to building in stone, they proceeded to build in stone in Illinois, where it was available. The oldest stone houses of any importance were those in Kaskaskia and French settlements. The masons were probably trained in France or Canada. At a later period many stone masons are known to have come in from the South and the East. The oldest house standing in Albion, an old "colony" stone house, was probably built by English masons who came over as members of the Colony. There were other settlements of foreign peoples, in which the masons may have been foreign trained. After 1835 there were many brick and stone masons available in Illinois; consequently, many houses and other structures, especially in the larger towns, were erected in either stone or brick masonry. In many sections there are still standing interesting examples of early Illinois stone houses, which are worthy of being recorded by photograph, and measured sketch, as being typical of this phase of early architecture of the State.

Taverns were most important factors, in the early settlement and development of Illinois, and gave rise to a distinct type of architecture. Not a new type, however, for the tavern was developed quite early in all the older states, the idea being carried into Illinois by settlers from those states. Many travelers were coming into Illinois, looking for a place to settle, and the tavern filled a real necessity.

The first taverns were nothing more than houses, usually log cabins, used for tavern purposes. Many early settlers rented rooms and served meals, in order to make a living until their farms could be developed. As the demands for tavern accommodation increased, special buildings were erected for that purpose. The manner of construction and the general architectural effect of the taverns, was similar to the pioneer houses except that, as a rule, they were larger. The first were of logs, then of frame construction, and later ones of brick. Although the earlier ones were enlarged house plans, yet later examples often had distinct tavern characteristics. The main floor contained the parlor, offices, dining room, and kitchen, which was usually in a wing at the back. The second floor was taken up entirely with guest rooms, and in the more pretentious taverns, there was a ball room in the upper, or attic, story. A special architectural feature was the porch, extending the full length of the front, and usually two stories in height.

A number of these are still standing today—landmarks of our early progress—structures that have a real place in our history, and every remaining example should be amply recorded.

Taverns were the forerunners of the hotel. The tavern is always associated with the open road, rural situations or small villages, while the hotel was a larger structure, strictly urban in character, which developed as the towns grew larger or became cities.

Hotels became even more important than taverns in the early history and development of Illinois, and may be taken as an index to the rapid development of the State. With a greater amount of travel by eastern peoples, in the western states, the city hotel soon responded to the greater needs of the traveling public, and the wealth and importance of Illinois was soon reflected in larger and finer hotels. The architecture and furnishing usually followed the Eastern and Southern types, but with modifications, determined by the character of the people. In time, the Illinois towns took great pride in having hotels that would rank favorably with those of the larger eastern cities, and some of them were named after eastern hotels, such as the noted Tremont House, Chicago. Every town of importance had its leading hotel, and in the larger towns there were many others, ranging from the small tavern-like places, to the more pretentious types. In the larger cities, hotels occupied a leading place in the architectural ensemble. Since the patronage of a hotel is partly determined by its newness, or up-to-date appointments, it followed, as a rule, that the hotels in every community were usually one of the best and most modern structure to be found there. The architecture was likely to be the newest or most advanced style, then extant in the older states. Older structures were replaced by newer and more modern ones, so that in cities like Chicago, the early hotel architecture was on a relatively

high level, often leading that of the entire country. One of the most interesting and varied chapters in the history of Illinois' architecture is to be found in the development of her hotels, and research in this field would make a valuable contribution to the history of the State.

The earliest way of travel used by the first Illinois settlers was by means of the rivers. Down the Ohio and the Wabash, and up the Mississippi, the Kaskaskia and the Illinois, the pioneers came by boat, and formed settlements along those rivers. Later settlers, however, in order to gain lands for settlement, found it necessary to strike out across the woods and prairies, following the Indian Trails. Still later the more frequently traveled trails were laid out as national roads and improved, to aid settlement. The survey and sale of lands, and the taking up of homesteads was quickened by the establishing of roadways.

Although these roads were at first little more than blazed trails, the timber cut and crude fords and crossings provided at the rivers, these were soon improved, graded in low places, and bridges provided over the larger streams. Thus came into use a special type of construction, bridge architecture, which may well be considered one phase of early architecture in Illinois. Skilled bridge builders came in from the south and east. The construction of large bridges required a considerable degree of engineering and structural skill. They were made of heavy sawed timbers, carefully designed and framed together; iron bolts, clamps, and rods, were also essential parts. The outstanding type was the "covered" bridge, the main structural features of which were two large wooden trusses, housed and roofed to protect the structural members from weather and decay. Some of these were ingeniously contrived, and for their time were probably far in advance of any other types of building in the State, from the standpoint of engineering design and construction. The covered wagon bridge was a familiar landmark, common to every part of the State, from 1840 until long after the Civil War, and was our most spectacular and picturesque type of rural architecture. Fortunately, a few of these old structures are still remaining today, reminders of a phase of early Illinois architecture that is fast vanishing.

It has been observed that the early architecture of Illinois was greatly influenced by the early builders, carpenters, masons, carpenter-architects, and bridge-builders, and other mechanics, who were trained in the older states, and then came into Illinois to ply their trade. During the earlier days of building in Illinois, the projects were almost entirely in the hands of carpenters, or carpenter-architects. There was little need for the professional architect in pioneer work. But as wealth increased, and towns grew larger, more pretentious buildings were desired, such as taverns, churches, court houses, etc. and plans for these were frequently secured from architects in nearby states—Kentucky, Tennessee, or Virginia.

The first building in the state designed by an architect is not known —it is probable that early architects of Kentucky, or from St. Louis, Missouri, did the first work—although records have not been found. There were architects in St. Louis, at a very early date, during the

20's and the 30's; the names of Gabriel Paul, George Morton, and Joseph C. Laveille are on record, as among the earliest. The name of Henry Singleton, of St. Louis, is of interest to us, because he was one of the competitors, and won second prize for his design of the Old State House, Springfield. John F. Rague, is one of the early architects on record as being regularly established within the State. He came to Springfield about 1831, and his design, prepared in 1837, for the Capitol, was placed first.

In the "Chicago Business Directory" of 1846, only two architects were listed: Daniel Sullivan, and John M. Van Osdel. Further search, no doubt, will reveal the names of others, in some of the older towns.

The architect being a specially trained type of professional man, naturally gained that training in the older cities of the east or south. It is evident, therefore, that the first architects in Illinois were eastern or southern trained men. There is definite knowledge to that effect, concerning Mr. Rague.

Eastern trained architects, working in the manner of the east, were responsible for the introduction of many elements of architectural style into Illinois. Every fad, or popular style of the east soon found its way into Illinois.

In the history of architecture in Illinois, church building occupied a foremost position. Even before history began, Illinois seems to have had a religious architecture, for the Mound-builders erected primitive religious structures. Again, the French explorers were accompanied by missionaries, and in their earliest settlement, there were churches in the larger communities. The earliest ones on record are those at Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, in each instance, a well defined church architecture. From this time on down to the present, this type of structure has been typical of every organized Illinois community. When the earliest American settlers came in from surrounding states, and began erecting their log cabin homes, they brought with them ideas of religion from their old home places, missionaries followed soon after, and in time a log cabin church was in the center of each group of pioneer cabins.

The little churches of crude architecture soon gave way to structures that were inspired by the Colonial churches, of the older states. At the time Illinois was being settled, the familiar landmark of eastern town and countryside was the stately white frame—or red brick—church, with tall tapering spire—of the "Colonial" type. Settlers in Illinois, coming from such surroundings, naturally desired to duplicate them in their new homes in Illinois; consequently there soon sprang up in many places in this state, Post-Colonial churches, copied or inspired by the old Colonial work of the East. Most of the established churches in the United States were soon represented in Illinois, due partly to the activities of the missionaries, and also because people coming from the eastern churches desired to establish one of their faith in Illinois. The older established churches also took advantage of the opportunity to expand their organization, and were ready to give assistance to the pioneers in building their church structures. Eastern people, and those from the South, coming in, brought with

them ideas of the church structures in their old home community and similar ones were built in Illinois.

There was steady progress made in church edifices; the log cabin, the rectangular small frame structure, this frequently followed by a larger and finer meeting house, and still later the brick church began to appear, while in some localities, stone was used. In the more populous centers, still larger and more pretentious structures were erected, which ranked well with eastern examples. During the 'forties many churches in the Classical and Greek Revival style were built, and even Gothic made its appearance in Illinois, at a time when but few of this type were to be found in the eastern states.

No phase of architectural development in Illinois is more important than that of the church building and the possibilities for research studies in this field are many.

A special phase of church architecture in Illinois is that which resulted from the activities of various religious and communistic colonies in the State, and which were formed, in most instances, by foreign immigrants. These colonies were numerous during the period, 1820 to 1850. The earliest American colonies to settle in Illinois were those at Bellefountain and New Design. Interesting developments, architecturally, resulted from a foreign colony settling at Elizabeth, Hardin County. Still more important was the English settlement at Albion, where many old houses, showing their influence, are still standing. Various German, English, Irish, and Swedish colonies, made definite, community settlements in other well known sections. Perhaps the most important of these colonies, both from the standpoint of religion and communistic and building activities, were those of the Swedes at Bishop Hill and the Mormons at Nauvoo.

The effect of these foreign colonists was to introduce not only new religious ideas but also new manners and customs and new modes in architecture. Their houses, community buildings, and churches were, in most instances, unlike those erected by the early American settlers in Illinois. The architectural remains of many of these colonies have practically disappeared. At Bishop Hill, however, there are numerous buildings still standing, which give us some idea of the extent and quality of their work. The old church is in almost perfect preservation, and a part of the old main brick colony buildings still stand, although some have been destroyed by fire. The Steeple Building is especially interesting, and an unusual example of public community building. Stores, shops, and many old houses are also preserved, many of them in almost their original condition.

Of all structures erected by religious colonies, the largest, and most unique one was, no doubt, the famous Mormon Temple, at Nauvoo. Although never fully completed on the interior, the exterior was essentially complete at the time the Mormons departed. From the standpoint of architecture alone, it was a great loss to the State when the structure was burned. The architectural and decorative features involved in this Temple were wholly different from anything in the State, and were it standing today, it would be one of our most unique historical structures.

No phase of the early architectural development of Illinois is more interesting or varied, than that connected with the story of the schools and colleges. School architecture begins at a very early date in the State, for the first schools were conducted at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, by the French priests, in connection with their missions.

Provision was made for education in Illinois, by the Americans, when Congress, in 1785, passed an ordinance for the survey and sale of lands in the Northwest Territory, and provided that one section in each township included under the ordinance should be reserved from sale, for the maintenance of public schools within the township. In the Ordinance of 1787, which finally determined the future of the Northwest Territory, it was declared that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

After providing themselves with homes and their communities with churches, the next step of the early Illinois settlers was to provide schools for the education of their children. Since most of them had come from the older states where the general scheme for education was well defined, it was most natural for them to model their schools after those of the older states. Each settlement seems to have had a sufficient number of public spirited citizens to take the responsibility of establishing schools. Schools and churches were valuable assets to each community, since they made the locality more attractive to prospective settlers who were constantly coming in. Each new settlement pointed with pride to their churches and schools.

The first settlers lived in log cabins, and their first school houses were rude log cabins furnished usually with crude benches and desks, made of split logs. As soon as their means would admit, better and larger log schools were built to replace the early ones, and finally, where lumber was available, a frame structure was erected, and furnished with seats and desks of dressed lumber. From this simple beginning school architecture progressed, until brick structures patterned after the schools in the older states soon began to appear in Illinois.

Improvements in school architecture were greatly influenced by people coming from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Eastern states. Most of the teachers were trained in the older states, and the builders of the school structures were frequently brought in to take charge of construction. Church organization took an active part in encouraging the establishment of schools, and in connection with higher education, were responsible for establishing most of the early seminaries, academies, and colleges. Public spirited citizens often pooled interests, and established a seminary or an academy in their community. Towns found it to their advantage to have an institution of higher learning, not only to accommodate their own children, but in order to grow into larger and more prosperous places. As soon as a sufficient number of seminaries were established to meet that phase of education, preparation for college, the next step was to establish colleges within the State. Here again wealthy citizens, enterprising communities, and ambitious church organizations provided the motive power for founding colleges, many of which were established in Illinois at a comparatively early date.

In the older states, school and college architecture had already taken on well defined characteristics, both in plan and arrangement, and the exterior architectural expression. In most cases the Illinois structures showed close resemblance to the eastern Colonial types. At a later time the Classical and Greek Revival movements in architecture became the vogue in the United States, and in Illinois, the styles were often quite pronounced. In a few instances, Collegiate Gothic, an English style, was used here in distant Illinois.

A most important type of public building in early architectural development of Illinois was the court house, and next to the church, it was usually the largest and most pretentious, architecturally. As counties were formed, one of the first requirements was a structure for housing the various county interests. The county system adopted in Illinois is of southern lineage, and similar to the system in use in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia; consequently, the early court houses in Illinois were much like the pioneer structures of those states.

The earliest court houses were constructed of logs and in appearance were not far different from the early log churches. The interior furnishings were as primitive as the structures themselves, consisting mainly of movable benches. These primitive structures were later replaced by frame structures, of simple architectural lines. As the counties gained in wealth and population, a still larger and better equipped court house would be needed; consequently, the third building, often erected on the original site, would be a large brick structure, usually of the Classical or Greek Revival style of architecture. During the period, 1835 to 1850, many of these Greek or Roman temple type court houses were built, and a number of these are still standing, reminders of this unique period in the architectural development of our state. No type of public building is a better index to the taste and ideals of a community than the architecture of their court houses, and a study of the historic examples in Illinois will afford valuable source material for the history of their period.

The small, early court houses were usually built by local carpenters and mechanics. But the larger structures, especially the pretentious Greek or Roman temple types, required well studied plans, and in case of some of the finer examples, it is evident that an architect was employed, or at least a carpenter-architect adapted a book design to the problem at hand. In Louisville, Kentucky, Gideon Schryock was known for his designs of beautiful Greek Revival court houses, and he may have been directly or indirectly responsible for some of the fine old temple type court houses of Southern Illinois, while Mr. Singleton and others in St. Louis were doing similar work, and probably did work in western Illinois. In Chicago, Mr. Van Osdel designed a very fine court house for Cook County, and may have designed structures for other northern counties.

Illinois possesses a real architectural heritage in her old capitol buildings. Few states can boast of two old capitol buildings still standing, and in a good state of preservation. Until the final destruction of Old Kaskaskia, there also existed the old Territorial capitol and the old court house which for a brief time served the purpose of a

capitol, and, although now destroyed, both have been preserved in photograph.

The first, or Territorial, capitol, at Kaskaskia, occupied from 1809 to about 1818, was built in the style of a two-story Post-Colonial house, constructed of brick said to have been brought from Pittsburgh by boat down the Ohio to Shawneetown, and then hauled overland to Kaskaskia.

In 1818 when Illinois became a state, Kaskaskia was retained as the Capital, until a new capital could be selected. During this brief period, the first General Assembly met in a larger building, in the center of the village square; the walls were built of limestone, surmounted by a gambrel roof of unpainted boards and shingles and having dormer windows. This was therefore the first State Capitol.

As soon as the new capital location, Vandalia, was selected, a temporary two-story frame structure, of rather crude architecture, was built, and occupied for a brief period only, when it was destroyed by fire. Steps were taken at once for rebuilding; this resulted in the structure which is still standing today in Vandalia, and which served as the Illinois Capitol, until the removal to Springfield.

The old Vandalia Capitol, now preserved as a state monument, was built in a substantial manner, of brick walls upon a stone foundation, and finished in wood trim and cornice. It is of a semi-Classic type of architecture, and typical of structures being built at that time in Kentucky and Virginia. Except for slight alterations, the building stands today in almost its original condition.

When Springfield was selected as the permanent Capital, the wealth of the state had reached a point where it was felt that a finer structure, one really worthy of Illinois, should be erected. For the first time in the history of state affairs, steps were taken to secure the design and services of an architect. The building committee advertised for plans, and offered awards for the best design. Many plans were submitted in this the first architectural competition ever instigated within the State. In making the awards, the first prize was given to John F. Rague, an architect of Springfield, who received $200, while the second prize of $100 went to a Mr. Singleton, of St. Louis. Both of these architects were accustomed to work in the Greek Revival style, and the building which resulted proved to be one of the finest buildings of this style in the Middle West. Although much altered in its present condition, and used as a court house, it is worthy of being restored and made a state monument. This building, when new, exerted a considerable influence upon the architecture of the state. It made the Greek Revival the official style for the state, and soon a number of court houses and other public structures, especially state institutional buildings, were erected in the same architectural style.

The development of a bank architecture in Illinois has been on a par with that of any state in the Union. The earliest banks, dating from 1813, were, as a rule, housed in temporary structures. The John Marshall Bank of Shawneetown was established in the Marshall residence, a two-story Colonial type brick house. Other early banks were housed in similar, temporary structures. But, as soon as the

state and national banking systems became thoroughly established, a definite type of bank architecture was introduced. In the older eastern and southern states, bank buildings had already taken on definite architectural form. This form was not an exotic development, but was based upon European precedent, and that, in turn, was based upon certain ancient forms, and not without reason.

In ancient times the temples of the Greeks and Romans served to house the treasures of the city or state. When the Classical and Greek Revival spread over Europe, and into the United States, it was a logical thing to select the temple form for banks, to house money and other things of great value. In Philadelphia, the Girard Bank had been built in the Classical temple form. Latrobe had designed the Bank of Pennsylvania and the United States Bank Buildings in the form of Greek temples. In New York City, Isaiah Rogers, A. J. Davis, and Ithiel Town were building banks and exchanges in the temple style. These served to fix the style for bank buildings all over the United States. Eastern men with eastern capital came into Illinois, and in the erection of bank structures it was most natural for them to follow the established forms of the East. Consequently, in time, Illinois had many worthy bank structures in approved style. Such buildings were usually the best constructed buildings in the communities, for it was necessary that they be built for protection, and were often fireproof. As a result of their substantial construction, and durable materials, there are a number of these old Classic structures still standing today.

The wealth of Illinois, during the early days of development, was directly reflected by the number, size, and the quality of the architecture of her bank buildings, and one of the most interesting chapters of Illinois history is that which has to do with banks and banking.

The government, through the building of Post Offices and Customs Houses, has had a great influence upon the architecture of the State. During the first period of development the Government, as a rule, rented such buildings or office space as was needed, but as soon as towns developed sufficiently, suitable buildings were erected by the Government to house its various interests in the State.

The policy of the Federal Government has always been to erect their structures to serve for the longest possible period. Consequently, they were erected of the most durable materials and constructed in the most substantial manner. Also, they were usually built over-size, so as to provide for future increase in business. Thus, the Post Office and Custom House was usually one of the finest structures to be found in any town, and often they encouraged the erection of many private buildings of good design and construction.

The Government buildings were designed by trained Government architects in Washington, D. C. and in many instances these structures were the first in the state to be designed by an architect. The Government architects designed their buildings in a conservative and refined manner, but as a rule, their work reflected the most popular style in vogue, in the United States. As these styles changed, from Colonial to Classical Revival, Greek Revival, Romanesque, etc. the government

offices changed to the latest style; consequently, the Government became a potent factor in the introduction of these various styles in Illinois.

Today, Illinois has an almost complete representation of all the prevalent architectural styles, in the Government buildings still standing, and in use in the State. In this one type of building, alone, a history of architecture of Illinois could be written, and such an account would involve much of general state history.

Aside from the several types of buildings already mentioned, Illinois had many others, each of which passed through a process of development as the State grew in population and wealth. Among these buildings for State Institutions were hospitals for the insane and defective, special educational institutions, and state prisons.

There was also a remarkable growth and development of business, commercial, and industrial interests, and a distinct architecture was developed to house these. In the larger cities, such as Chicago, the commercial type became very important. The skyscrapers of modern Chicago are the culmination of building activities in this field.

Brief mention has been made from time to time in this paper, as to the architectural styles in which early Illinois work was carried out. Each type of building, namely, the houses, churches, schools, college buildings, hotels, banks, court houses, state and institutional buildings, government buildings, etc., passed through all the stylistic waves, which at times were prevalent in the United States.

The first structures were a reflection of the old Colonial work of the South and East, and may be classed as Post-Colonial in style. This style gradually changed to a reflection of the American Georgian of the East, a style coming originally from England, into the Eastern Colonies. After the close of the Revolutionary War, the people of the East, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, adopted the Roman Classical Revival as an appropriate style for the architecture of the New American Republic. This style was characterized by the extensive use of Roman Classic orders and the temple-like form of structures. This style wave soon found its way into Illinois, and resulted in schools, churches, court houses, and other structures being built in imitation of Classic temples, the chief features of which were great columnar and pedimented porticoes and classical cornices, and buildings generally were made large and pretentious.

This Roman Classic wave was soon followed by a new style in the East and South. Benjamin Latrobe, an English trained architect, came to Philadelphia, in the latter part of the 18th century, and in 1799, designed the Bank of Pennsylvania, in a new mode—the Greek temple style—which resulted in a new style for America, known as the Greek Revival. This new mode was received enthusiastically and spread rapidly. Illinois, a new country, took eagerly to the new idea, and soon throughout the state, buildings of all kinds, from the modest house to the largest public buildings, appeared in the Greek manner. The Greek temple, with its columns, pediments, cornices, and Greek ornamental details, seemed to predominate, and soon Illinois was a leader in this new mode of building, which held sway down to the Civil War period.

During the war period architecture declined generally throughout the United States. Many exotic styles, most of them ill suited to our needs, were introduced. There was a brief period during which there was a revival of the English and French Gothic, and many structures, houses, schools and churches were built in imitation of the Mediaeval Gothic structures. The leaders in this movement in the East were Richard Upjohn and James Renwick, and some reflections of the movement were to be found in Illinois. While this movement was still under way, a young American architect, H. H. Richardson, who had been studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, in Paris, returned to America, and instituted another style in architecture—the Romanesque. His work on Trinity Church, Boston, served to establish the new mode, which was soon taken up eagerly by other architects, and it spread rapidly to all parts of the United States. This style, too, found favor up in Illinois, where many fine structures were erected, and where it was one of the prevalent styles until about 1890, when another change was to take place.

Up to this period, Illinois had been a follower of styles first introduced and developed in the East. From this time on, however, Illinois was to assume something of the position of leadership. The first evidence of an influence that was to go out from Illinois, resulted from the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, in 1893. A changed mode of building—a return to the Renaissance—a revival of the Roman Classic, was selected for the majority of the buildings at the exposition, and the effect was so striking that it caused the architects of the whole country to return to the Classic style.

While the whole outward aspect of Illinois architecture had been changed to the Renaissance type of the exposition, there was in progress another, and more important, development in architectural construction, in which the Chicago architects and Illinois were again to become the creators and leaders—namely, in the invention and development of the principle of steel skeleton frame construction, the principle upon which the whole development of the skyscraper rests. Following the Civil War, and shortly before the Great Chicago Fire, an army engineer, Major Wm. LeBaron Jenney, established himself in Chicago as an architect and engineer. He was employed on many of the large commercial structures, where there was a tendency to build higher and higher. This introduced a serious problem in construction—the tall building, of the wall bearing type, necessitated very heavy walls. Mr. Jenney devised a scheme of construction whereby the floor and roof loads were carried upon a system of cast iron columns and wrought iron and steel beams, independent of the exterior walls of the buildings, and thus introduced for the first time the principle of the steel skeleton frame, the principle upon which all subsequent skyscraper construction was based.

Thus, a careful survey of the early architectural development in Illinois, discloses much that is of vital interest to the historian. In the architectural remains of the State may be read something of the character and achievement of the various peoples who came into the state from time to time. Every phase of building activity within the state,

and the architectural styles developed, are a direct reflection of the life of the citizens of the state. A study of these old structures will bring to light information that is most useful to the historian, and the old buildings still standing today will serve as source material, from which much may be gleaned concerning their builders.

Although the State, historical societies, and other organizations have preserved many of the historic sites and buildings of the period of early development, yet throughout the state, there are still many examples of early work which, although without historical significance, should however be preserved because they possess distinct architectural value. There are also hundreds of examples which have but little historical or architectural significance, yet are of value because they illustrate certain steps or phases in the growth of architecture in the State, and these should be recorded by photograph, measured sketch, and collected data. Such a procedure would preserve for future generations visible representation of the best of the early architecture of Illinois, and authentic data for further studies in the history and development of the state.

LEADERS IN AMERICAN IMMIGRATION[1]

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There is unavoidably an air of impersonality about American immigration. The coming of thirty million Europeans to American shores in the century following 1815 suggests to the mind a folk movement of such magnitude that it seems futile to attempt to disengage the characters and personalities of individuals from the mass. One tends to look upon the immigrant as a dot on a map, an item in an appalling agglomeration of statistics. His individuality seems to disappear in a complex of international circumstances, with world forces on one side pushing him out of his accustomed environment, on the other pulling him westward as if with magnetic power. One is reminded of a European commentator who as early as 1853 pointed out that emigration proceeds "prosaically and unconsidered, like the great changes in the earth's surface, which are not studied until they appear as if they were the result of unexplained earthquakes or revolutionary changes," but that in truth "this colossal movement is a result of innumerable small and unappreciated causes, which exercise on human life the same disintegrating and transforming power that the chemical elements do on the earth's crust."

The pivot, however, is human life, and it is well to be reminded, through the reading, for example, of such a novel as *Giants in the Earth,* of the psychological realities underlying migration and the struggle to subdue wilderness and far-stretching prairie. The dot becomes Per Hansa, the line is metamorphosed into Beret, and the graphs are turned into living men and women who work, taste the joys of earth, know sorrow, and die.

When once the statistical surface is penetrated, one makes the acquaintance not only of Per Hansas and Berets, not only of the plain folk who composed the rank and file of the immigrant army, but also of leaders, organizers, and propagandists who in many cases made their influence felt on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly in the period of the older immigration. One glimpses a truth that has not been perhaps sufficiently appreciated: this vast movement, ordinarily looked upon as a disorganized human swarming, had some coherence; it was in part directed; it allowed room for the play of leadership by men fitted for that rôle. Such men were creatures, not creators, of a great movement, and their success hinged in part upon their accommodation to economic and social forces greater than any individual. One must, of course, make similar limitations upon leadership in various other fields. It is none the less instructive historically to recognize

leadership where it appears and to appraise it. In the field of immigration such recognition and appraisal may afford a little insight into some of the human aspects of a great movement, throw light upon the problem of organization in migration, and draw attention to the luster of certain stars in the American galaxy that possibly merit a wider renown. To call the complete roll of these captains of peoples in dispersal would be an encyclopedic task that the writer has no present purpose of attempting. He desires merely to glance at certain individuals who exemplify different types of leadership and various racial strains in the movement.

Sometimes one finds two leaders in migration working in close association, the one perhaps gifted with the pen, the other a practical organizer. Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, English immigrant colonizers who figure prominently in the pioneer history of Illinois, afford an interesting illustration of such association. Well-to-do tenants in their native land, they were powerfully attracted by the prospect of becoming large landowners in America. Intelligent, shrewd, and widely traveled, they chose the Illinois frontier in 1817 as a site for settlement only after careful investigation. The Illinois prairie was almost like the Promised Land to them, "the whole presenting a magnificence of park-scenery, complete from the hand of Nature," as Flower expresses it. "From beneath the broken shade of the wood," he writes, "with our arms raised above our brows, we gazed long and steadily, drinking in the beauties of the scene which had been so long the object of our search." An important part of their colonization project was to share their hopes and their information with other English tenant farmers and to attract English laborers. Birkbeck could wield the pen, and his *Notes on a Journey in America* and his *Letters from Illinois* carried the tale of Illinois not only to English readers in edition after edition, but also to the European continent, in translations.

To trace the influence of Birkbeck and Flower as colonizers one would have to comb the press of Europe. To illustrate, a detailed account of their Illinois plans appeared in the newspaper of a remote Norwegian village as early as 1821, four years before the Norwegian emigration of the nineteenth century took its rise. In England Birkbeck's publications and propaganda were widely discussed, and the *Times and William Cobbett,* by their somewhat alarmed tactics of refutation, helped the Illinois arguments to reach the ear of England. William Faux, who visited the Illinois settlement in 1819, used extravagant language when he declared that "no man since Columbus has done so much toward peopling America as Mr. Birkbeck"; but it is true that Birkbeck's influence was one among many factors in the widening sweep of migration from Europe.

It was Flower's part to place the project before people in England, to get Birkbeck's manuscript published there, to raise additional funds, and to secure immigrant recruits. "The publication in England of our travels, my return, and personal communication with a host of individuals," he writes, "had given a wide-spread knowledge of what we had done and what we intended to do." Without attempting to recite the successes and disappointments of the English colony, it is fitting

before this audience to point to Birkbeck and Flower as conspicuous immigrant leaders. They were also factors in what Professor Fox has termed "civilization in transit"—Flower, for example, as an importer of select breeds of cattle and sheep, Birkbeck as an exponent of agricultural organization and as one of the "ablest, most cultured, and most public-spirited men on the frontier," to quote the new *Dictionary of American Biography,* which adds that his services to America were "ill-requited and soon forgotten."

The immigrant writer who sang the praises of the United States in the early nineteenth century incurred the danger of being bitterly blamed by immigrants for whom the reality did not measure up to expectations. Gottfried Duden arrived in America in 1824 as a German graduate in medicine and law, made his way to Missouri, and there wrote his famous *Berichte.* This work, first published in 1829, appears to have had considerable influence in Germany, but because of the disappointed hopes of many immigrants it proved a boomerang to Duden himself, for they turned bitterly upon him, blaming him rather than themselves for their difficulties, no matter how ill-adapted they may have been for the task of pioneering. Duden himself, in 1837, expressed caustic regret that he had not written his report in hieroglyphics, so that only the wise, and not the "common herd," could have read his words.

Some writers characterize the *Berichte* as a romantic account of America. That Duden somewhat romantically stressed the contrasts between frontier democracy and the strait-jacket conditions of the Old World is perhaps true, but one suspects that critics may have taken over some of the contemporary feeling of immigrant discouragement when they declare that Duden mingles fact and fiction and interweaves experience and imagination. It is only just to Duden to recall that the influence of most immigrant writers outran by far the circle of careful or even actual readers, and that often authors were blamed for distortions of which their pages were wholly innocent. In any event, his name is written in bold letters into the story of German migration to America. His influence touched many minds, including those of Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch, organizers of the *Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft* and dreamers of a concentrated German colony in the Mississippi Valley. Meanwhile Duden passes disconsolately from the scene, saying, "Truly, I am often reminded of Harvey, the famous discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who regretted to his end that he had ever communicated his thoughts to the world, on account of the ceaseless attacks that were made upon him."

At the head of the trail-blazers of Norwegian migration stands the redoubtable Cleng Peerson, who fared back and forth across the Atlantic, trudged on foot from frontier to frontier, ever questing for new lands and repeatedly founding settlements, though never content to settle down himself. He first appeared on the scene in 1821, when with a companion he set off from southwestern Norway for America, probably as an agent for a group of disaffected Norwegians, some of whom had Quaker affiliations. He himself was at odds with the Norwegian state church and friendly to the Quakers. In 1824 he returned to Norway to report on his investigations in the New World, where-

upon he hastened back to New York and late in the year wrote to his friends that he was arranging for the purchase of land in western New York. He advised them with regard to the purchase of a vessel and urged them to come. "You must not allow yourselves to be frightened away by talk," he added. When in 1825 the immigrants arrived in New York, fifty-three in number, after a fourteen-weeks' voyage in a little sloop that had sailed as far south as Madeira on the way, they were met by Peerson, who conducted them to Orleans County, near Rochester, where they established the first Norwegian settlement in America.

Eight years later Peerson again appeared in the rôle of a trail-blazer, making a pedestrian journey to the West in seach of suitable lands for settlement by the Norwegians. His travels took him into Ohio, across Michigan, and through northern Indiana into Illinois, perhaps also into southern Wisconsin as far as Milwaukee. In Illinois Peerson selected a site that determined the location of the first Norwegian settlement in the Mississippi Valley. This was the Fox River region, near Ottawa, in La Salle County. In language that puts one in mind of Birkbeck and Flower he tells us that while on a walking trip from Chicago he came to a hill overlooking the Fox River Valley. Almost exhausted from hunger and fatigue, he threw himself on the grass and thanked God for having directed his steps to such an attractive land. In his enthusiasm he temporarily forgot his hunger and weariness and his thoughts turned to Moses and the Promised Land. This knight of the immigrant trail then trudged back to the New York settlement and the next year, in 1834, the migration of his fellow-countrymen to the Fox River country began.

It is curious to note how prominently Peerson figures at various crucial points in the earlier development of Norwegian migration. He was the trail-blazer of the "sloop folk"; he was the founder of the Fox River settlement; in the late thirties he was responsible for a colonization experiment in northern Missouri and was also associated with the beginnings of Norwegian settlement in Iowa; he frequently appeared in the rôle of guide, interpreter, and adviser; and returning to Norway in 1842 he became a factor back of the deepening of the tide in 1843. He joined the Swedish Bishop Hill colony in 1847; but shortly thereafter, "robbed of all he possessed," as he puts it, "and sick in body and mind," he departed from that communistic settlement and sought solace in the Fox River colony. In 1849 he made an expedition to Texas, and a year later he returned to Illinois an enthusiast for the Lone Star State. He had the frontiersman's fondness for ample elbow-room. In a letter urging Norwegians to go to Texas he expounded his theory. "I can not approve," he said, "of the method of settlement practiced by the Norwegians in establishing themselves so closely together instead of spreading out more so as to have greater freedom in their sphere of action." To the broad acres of Texas Peerson himself went finally, and there, in Bosque County, this restless pedestrian of the immigrant trail died in 1865 at the age of eighty-two. He was an eccentric; a droll and entertaining story-teller always welcomed in the frontier cabins; a lover of adventure; perhaps, as Pro-

fessor Flom suggests, something of a Peer Gynt. That he exercised much influence on the early Norwegian immigration to the United States is certain; but one must add that the majority of the immigrants in the forties ignored his counsels, for while he turned his face to the southwest, they, responding to forces over which he had no control, sought the upper Mississippi Valley.

A young student whose brief career contains elements both of the heroic and of the tragic has a conspicuous place among American immigrant leaders. Ole Rynning, born in 1809, the son of a prominent Norwegian clergyman, was a graduate of the University of Christiania. a man of culture, whose emigration from Norway in 1837 caused considerable surprise, since it was unusual at the time for men of his class and education to join the movement. He was interested in helping the farmers and laborers of his native country to find a solution for their difficulties, and to him the key to the problem seemed to be emigration. Democratic and thoroughly in sympathy with the Norwegian *bønder,* he joined a party of some eighty emigrants sailing for America, soon becoming, by virtue of his character and attainments, its leader. The group reached the infant Chicago in the late summer of 1837 and after a committee, including Rynning, had investigated a proposed site the immigrants settled at Beaver Creek in Iroquois County. It appears that a serious mistake was made in the selection of land. Dry and overgrown with grass, it seemed an attractive spot, but the next spring it was inundated; then a severe epidemic of malaria swept the settlement; many of the settlers succumbed; and ultimately the colony was abandoned.

Before affairs reached this sad state, however, Rynning did a thing that was destined to make his name known throughout the length and breadth of Norway. He wrote a book entitled *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner.* On one occasion he went out in mid-winter on a "long exploring expedition." "Frost had set in during his absence," according to a fellow-colonist. "The ice on the swamps and the crusts of snow cut his boots. He finally reached the colony, but his feet were frozen and lacerated. They presented a terrible sight, and we all thought he would be a cripple for life." It was while in this condition lying on the bed in his cabin, that this stout-hearted believer in America wrote his book, reading each chapter aloud to his fellow-settlers in order to benefit by their criticisms. The book contains thirteen brief chapters, each of which answers in concise manner a question or group of questions put specifically. Compact, informative, definite, and clear, the book was also reliable, justifying its name. It was precisely what was needed by commoners in Norway, who had great difficulty in getting such information as prospective emigrants desired. Among the topics of which, one by one, he judiciously disposes are the location of America; the story of the earlier Norwegian immigrants; the country's climate, soil, and products; absurd rumors current in Europe about the United States; the costs of provisions and of land; the religious situation; the nature of the American government; the language question; and the prospects for the immigrant. Touching on slavery,

which he terms an "ugly contrast" to America's freedom and equality, he pauses to make a sober forecast, never knowing that there lived on Illinois soil a man also born in 1809, named Lincoln. "The northern states try in every Congress to get the slave trade abolished in the southern states," he writes, "but as the latter always oppose these efforts, and appeal to their right to settle their internal affairs themselves, there will in all likelihood come either a separation between the northern and southern states, or else bloody civil disputes."

The manuscript of Rynning's book was carried to Norway in the spring of 1838 by Ansten Nattestad, himself a sturdy immigrant leader—a shrewd, humble peasant, made hero in his native valley by virtue of his trans-Atlantic experience, a farmer Marco Polo. "The report of my return spread like wildfire through the land," he records in language reminiscent of George Flower, "and an incredible number of people came to hear news from America." He declares that some traveled on foot as far as a hundred and forty miles to talk with him. Meanwhile he succeeded in getting the book published although a chapter in which Rynning paid his critical respects to the Norwegian clergy was deleted, and the volume created a sensation among commoners. Everywhere known as the "America Book," it influenced Norwegians for many years after its publication. Nattestad returned triumphantly as the leader of an immigrant party, but meanwhile a tragic event occurred in Illinois. In September, 1838, Rynning fell victim to disease and died. Only one settler in the colony was well at the time; he placed Rynning's body in a coffin rough-hewn from an oak and lowered it into an Illinois prairie grave that went unmarked. There is as yet no monument to this man, of whom Nattestad remarked, "A great and good idea formed the central point of all his thinking. He hoped to be able to provide the poor, oppressed Norwegian workman a happier home on this side of the sea, and to realize this wish he shunned no sacrifice, endured the greatest exertions, and was patient through misunderstandings, disappointments, and loss. . . . Nothing could shake his belief that America would become a place of refuge for the masses of people in Europe who toiled under the burdens of poverty."

In view of the place given to the problem of emigration in the European press it is not surprising to learn that some influential colonizers came from the ranks of editors. In Norway the press in the thirties and forties delighted to picture American conditions in the most forbidding colors. The desire to emigrate, spreading rapidly among the common people, was referred to as the contagious "America fever," the symptoms of which were ironically described as dreams and fantasies, dizziness, and a noticeable disarrangement of one's normal thinking processes, coupled with the expectation of quick transportation to Paradise. The chief defender of emigration was Johan R. Reiersen, who founded the newspaper *Christianssandsposten* in 1839, and it was in part due to his pertinacity and polemical vigor that the controversy about America echoed throughout all Norway. He declined to picture America only in dark colors; emigration, he said, showed that the *bønder* had spirit; they craved, not gold and luxury, but bread and

freedom. In 1842 he introduced a discussion of Norway's overpopulation, declared that the emigrants were the most progressive and energetic of the working people, and suggested the desirability of organized colonization, which needed to be supplemented by the settlement of uncultivated, waste, and state lands at home. He took liberal positions on the questions of the day, urged the abandonment of *laissez faire,* and even suggested that the state should aid the farmers to the extent of loans without interest. He was a farmer-laborite a little ahead of his time.

With such a preparation Reiersen in 1843 set off for America on a trip of investigation on behalf of a group of interested persons who raised funds to aid him in meeting the costs. His object was to survey the American situation, prepare a handbook of information, and select a site for colonization. He was energetic, able, and fired with lofty purpose. The bitter opposition that his liberalism had bred in Norwegian official and newspaper circles added to the zest with which he set out to prove his theories in practice. Few investigators for prospective emigrants have made so wide and careful a search as did Reiersen. He landed at New Orleans, journeyed north to St. Louis, visited Ohio, then went to Illinois and Wisconsin. In a letter of January 24, 1844, written at Iowa City, he explains that his interest had been aroused in Texas and that he was working out plans for a colony and that for thousands of his countrymen then "gathering crumbs from the table of the aristocracy" relief was in sight.

The La Salle County settlement in Illinois, which he termed correctly "the first Norwegian settlement of any importance" in the West, numbered about six hundred people in 1844, most of whom, he said, "have passed the initial stage, have erected good houses, and live in a comfortable and independent position." The digging of the Illinois Canal had increased land values, however, and settlers, chiefly American, had soon taken up the available lands, forcing the incoming Norwegian immigrants after 1838 to go farther north.

Reiersen journeyed from Iowa to Missouri and fell in with a party at Independence starting westward on the Oregon Trail. Though tempted to cross the continent, he gave up the idea and instead made his way to the South. At Austin he met Sam Houston, who told him that he was interested in the possibility of a Texas Norwegian colony and that the Texan government would extend every aid. Reiersen now journeyed to New York by way of Cincinnati and then returned to Norway, where, late in 1844, he published the best book that had yet appeared in that country on American conditions.

Early in 1845 Reiersen announced that he would lead a party of emigrants in the spring, with New Orleans as the first objective, and when spring arrived he did in fact set forth. A detailed historical account of the colony that he established in northern Texas would transcend the limits of this paper, but one development may be noted. It is characteristic of Reiersen's energy and enthusiasm that he established in Norway, the summer of his departure, a monthly magazine to serve as a medium for his own and other reports from America and for discussions of social and economic conditions among Norwegian farmers

and laborers. It was appropriately called "Norway and America" and the first issue appeared in July, 1845, the same month in which Reiersen and his party arrived in northern Texas. During the first year of the existence of the paper, Reiersen, half a world away, served as its editor, and much of its contents came from his facile pen. America was the home of liberty and the defender of human rights, in his opinion. Believing that the emigration of a portion of Norway's population was absolutely essential, he used this paper to contrast American and Norwegian conditions and as a vehicle for the publication of "America letters." He published a series of informative "Sketches from Western America" and brought out reports from Texas, letters from immigrants in the North, and polemical articles on emigration. Five years after he founded his Texan colony Reiersen, in a letter published in Norway, declared that he had learned to love America more than his native land. "I am free and independent," he wrote, "among a free people who are not bound by the chains of old class and caste conditions, and I feel proud to belong to a mighty nation, the institutions of which must necessarily conquer eventually the entire civilized world because they are based upon the only principles which reason can acknowledge to be right."

It must be observed that Reiersen, like Peerson, had turned aside from the main path of the immigrant movement to the west. The attractions of the Southwest never excited the people of northern Europe and it was not until 1890 that the number of Norwegian-born in Texas exceeded one thousand. Because Reiersen's choice did not win popular ratification, his dream of a compact colony that would attract thousands of oppressed and poor families from the Scandinavian North was never realized. The upper Mississippi Valley and the West continued, as before, to be the great magnet. The northern peoples were anti-slavery; they liked the kind of climate to which they were accustomed; and the northern routes to the West were worn too deep for any individual, however aggressive, to deflect the main throng of newcomers.

Religious ties, according to Professor M. L. Hansen, have often determined the location of immigrant settlements; "and those church statesmen who had at heart the future of their faith used this sentiment for the benefit of both the settler and his organization." A colonizer of this type was the Danish pioneer minister, C. L. Clausen, whose early activities were mainly among Norwegian immigrants, first at Muskego and then at Rock Prairie in Wisconsin. Both settlements attracted numerous new immigrants after their lands were largely occupied. In the late forties Clausen undertook the preparation of a book about America for the benefit of people in the Scandinavian countries, but it does not appear to have seen the light of publication. Early in 1850 he appealed to Alexander Ramsey, the governor of Minnesota Territory, for information about that northern domain. He explained that a large number of emigrants were wintering at Rock Prairie in the expectation of pushing on in the spring to new locations and he desired information which might be of aid to them. The next summer he journeyed up to Minnesota, returned, and reported upon his trip, but the majority of the newcomers in southern

Wisconsin were unwilling to go so far north. Consequently in the summer of 1852 Clausen, with two companions, explored the rich farming area along the Iowa-Minnesota boundary and took out a claim in Mitchell County, which he thought admirably suited for a Norwegian colony. He returned to Rock Prairie and published in *Emigranten,* an important Norwegian-American weekly, an account of his trip. In the spring of 1853 a caravan of some forty canvas-covered wagons drawn by oxen conveyed about forty families to the colony, which was named St. Ansgar. About three hundred head of cattle were driven with the caravan, for Clausen believed that cattle-raising would prove a most profitable industry. In the entire enterprise Clausen displayed unceasing energy. He arranged for the building of a mill, a church, a post office, and cabins; he opened a school in his own cabin; he inaugurated regular church services two weeks after the settlers arrived at St. Ansgar; and he took a leading part in the business affairs of the colony. He continued to promote interest among the people of the older Wisconsin settlements in the new area which he had helped to open. A hundred families arrived in 1854 and numerous accessions occurred in the following years. The northern Iowa settlements became centers from which settlers filtered and then streamed into the southern counties of Minnesota. Clausen was a frontier colonizer, a builder of church and state. When the Civil War broke out, this pastor became chaplain of a Norwegian regiment from Wisconsin, and later, still a colonizer, he attempted to back-trail the frontier, becoming the leader of a Norwegian colonization project in Virginia, but he could not secure enough immigrants to make the colony a success.

Hans Mattson, who landed at Boston in 1851 as a nineteen-year-old boy from Sweden who could not then understand a word of English and who became a western pioneer, a lawyer, a soldier, a leader among his countrymen, and an official both of his state and of the country, is prominent in American immigration as a colonizer and as a propagandist. He was one of the founders of a Swedish settlement in Minnesota and knew frontier life at first hand. In his autobiography he details his experiences, picturing among other things a fourteen-mile walk from a little village to his cabin with a seventy-pound pack strapped to his back. In the pack were such trifles as a smoked ham, thirty pounds of flour, a gallon of molasses, some coffee, sugar, and salt. This man, after gallant service in the Civil War, became a publicist for immigrant settlement in Minnesota, and his many articles in the Swedish-American press were frequently reprinted in Sweden. In 1867 he was made secretary of the Minnesota board of immigration and promoted the efforts of that state in competing for what it considered a fair share of the incoming immigrants. Among many matters to which he gave attention was that of advertising the glorious climate of Minnesota, and in this task he sometimes met a discouraging response from the citizens of states that an unkind providence had placed farther south than Minnesota. In fact, Mattson tells us that a Kansas journalist accused him of selling his countrymen "to a life not much better than slavery in a land of ice, snow, and perpetual winter,

where, if the poor emigrant did not soon starve to death, he would surely perish with cold." But Mattson lets the truth shine complacently forth in a pamphlet written in 1867 for Scandinavians in which he declares, "The climate [*of Minnesota*] is admittedly the best in the United States. . . . Thousands of invalids from the eastern and southern states make their way to this state and become well again through no other means than breathing the fresh air."

Late in 1868 Mattson left for Europe to make the resources of his state better known than they were among the farming and laboring classes of Sweden. Though he found the higher classes unsympathetic with his efforts, he was a hero to the common people and the middle classes. "Wherever it was known that I would pass," he writes, "people flocked from their houses to the roads and streets in order to catch a glimpse of the returned traveler." Before he returned in the spring of 1869 he had organized two shiploads of emigrants, one of which he personally led. Mattson was also an active manager of railroad propaganda.

Peter Cassel, who founded in 1845 the New Sweden settlement in Jefferson County, Iowa, which Dr. Stephenson characterizes as "the first permanent nineteenth century Swedish settlement" in America, owes his distinction not merely to the fact that he led an emigrant party and established an immigrant colony, but also to the circumstance that "he was endowed with a persuasive tongue and wielded a pen that made his letters both interesting and informing." His letters became widely known in Sweden, exerted a large influence, and led to controversy. Like many another immigrant letter-writer, Cassel painted a very rosy picture of American conditions. "The ease of making a living here, and the increasing prosperity of the farmers, year by year and day by day," he declared, "exceeds anything we anticipated. If only half of the work expended on the soil of the fatherland were utilized here, the yield would reach the wildest imagination. . . ."

Among other Swedish leaders may be mentioned Svante Palm and Swen M. Swenson, who settled in Texas in the forties and attempted to build up a Swedish colony there; and Gustaf Unonius, the founder of the Pine Lake settlement in Wisconsin, an Episcopalian minister, whose writings had widespread influence in Sweden. One is impressed by the influence exerted upon Swedish immigration by ministers. One pastor, Erland Carlsson, who arrived in 1853 and was prominent among the Swedish immigrants in Chicago, played an active part in encouraging Swedish immigration and published, in 1854, at the request of a church body, an emigrant guide that became widely known in Sweden. Another example is Anders W. Dahlsten, who arrived in America in 1859. While a pastor in Galesburg, Illinois, he presided, in 1868, over a meeting at which it was decided to organize the Galesburg Colonization Committee, and a delegation, of which he was a member, was commissioned to make a tour of investigation in Kansas. Later he was a prime mover in the establishment of a number of Kansas Swedish settlements. It may be noted that the promotion of migration by immigrants already arrived in America, of which the Galesburg effort is an example, is typical of much organized activity in the later period of settlement.

Probably no racial element can furnish more admirable examples of colonizing church statesmen than the Dutch in Albertus C. Van Raalte and Henry P. Scholte, founders in the forties of compact and well-organized settlements in Michigan and in Iowa, leaders of their people in migration, in church affairs, in the organization of their economic life, and in culture and education. Both were dissenting ministers in their native land and for both the prospect of religious freedom in America bulked large. Both were also keenly aware of the economic sufferings of their people in the Old World and shrewd in their selection of colony sites in the New World, weighing the advantages of soil, transportation, nearness to markets, and climate with a worldly caution that stamps them as good business organizers. Both were expert pamphleteers, and in such writings as *Holland in America* and *A Voice from Pella* they effectively brought their projects before the Dutch people and gave stimulus to emigration. They were, in fact, advertisers and to a certain extent rivals. Van Raalte, for example, took pains to explain that if one went to Iowa one would incur the danger of sickness because of the climate. Timber land, he indicated, was more healthful than prairie newly plowed. Scholte gently announced, however, that first-hand acquaintance with the situation in Iowa gave him a very different impression from that conveyed by Van Raalte. It was in the fall of 1846 that Van Raalte, with a band of followers, sailed for America in a brig that has been called the *Mayflower* of this modern Dutch migration. On Christmas day of the same year Scholte, as president of the "Netherlandish Association for Emigration to the United States of North America," signed his name in Utrecht to a document embodying the thirty-five carefully drafted rules for this organization. In the spring of 1847, preceded by Scholte, the people who subscribed to these rules sailed for America in a fleet of four vessels, all of which reached the port of Baltimore, though two adults and eighteen children died during the crossing. Thus the enterprise was launched. This is not the place to trace out the sequel to these undertakings of Van Raalte and Scholte, but it may be noted that both settlements prospered and that both leaders have received their due meed of honor. Writing of the Michigan colony Miss Pieters declares, "The breadth of vision that conceived the plan of settlement and the energy that carried it through were united in the dynamic personality of Van Raalte." And Van der Zee, the historian of the *Hollanders in Iowa,* at times seems to be writing the biography of Scholte.

There was no single avenue to a captaincy in the armies of immigrants that thronged to America in the early nineteenth century and advanced with the native-born to the task of conquering the continent. A motley group they make, the leaders here brought casually together—a tenant farmer with a background of culture, an educated publicist, a sturdy peasant, a pedestrian eccentric, a youth fresh from an old-world university, a militant liberal editor, an immigrant pioneer and soldier, devoted preachers of the Gospel. Spurred by various motives these and other men pondered the problems of nineteenth-century Europe; studied the meaning of the West; felt the stir of hopes and

visions; became searchers for fair lands in the New World; organized groups of their countrymen; served as counselors and guides; wielded vigorous pens to carry the evangel of America to dwellers in their native lands; grappled with the problems of immigrant adjustment to a new social, economic, and geographic environment; and forwarded a cultural transit that has added something to the texture of American life. Some dreamed dreams that were broken by the impact of western reality; some did not read correctly the larger tendencies in the extraordinary mobility of American society and so were cast aside; some won solid triumphs as builders of commonwealth, realizing measurably their visions of a Promised Land. The historian cannot fail to be impressed by the glowing faith in America that is exemplified both among the leaders and among the masses of people who participated in the migrations. Nor can he fail to realize that, though the leadership reveals arresting personalities and plays a rôle of genuine historical importance, the movement itself was mightier than individuals—a world response to world forces.

[1] The material on Norwegian immigrant leaders that appears in the present paper was incorporated with full documentation in the writer's *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860* (Northfield, Minnesota, 1931), which was published some months after the Springfield meeting. Since the rest of the paper is derived for the most part from well known materials and since the paper as a whole is intended to present a general point of view rather than to contribute new information, footnotes citing specific sources have been omitted.

JOHN W. VANCE AND THE VERMILION SALINES

By Clint Clay Tilton, *Danville, Illinois*

It was man's craving for salt that led to the first settlement of Vermilion county, Illinois, in the fall of 1819, and it was a dream of commercial success of the two Vance brothers—Joseph Colville, afterward Governor of Ohio and Congressman from that State for nine terms, and John Wilson Vance, who in 1824 moved from Urbana, Ohio, to Illinois and secured a lease from the State for the control and operation of the Salines, that led to their full development. Prior to that time but little work had been done and the output was small. He brought with him twenty-four 100 gallon iron kettles, coming by boat down the Ohio and up the Wabash to the Vermilion, which he navigated to the mouth of Stony creek, whence the equipment was hauled by ox team to the site of the wells, four miles west of the present city of Danville.

It was September 27, 1819, when the party of Joseph Barron, which included Truman Blackman, Lambert Bona and Zachariah Cicott, together with four Shawnee Indians, who had been employed as guides, reached the site of what was to be the first settlement within the present confines of the County. Barron, well versed in the dialects of the various Indian tribes and for several years the interpreter for General William Henry Harrison, in an affidavit filed later with Governor Shadrach Bond, claimed to have visited the spot as early as 1801, having heard of the Springs from Indians in Northern Indiana. After digging a hole in the barren ground to a depth of three feet, water was obtained, which upon being boiled yielded a small quantity of salt. The party was satisfied and returned to Fort Harrison. But not for long. Blackman seems to have been a bit treacherous and without the knowledge or consent of Barron, organized a second expedition, consisting of himself, his brother, Remember Blackman, George Beckwith, Seymour Treat, Peter Allen and Francis Whitcomb. The party reached the same spot on the 31st of October, 1819. Here a second test was made and it was found that two gallons of water produced four ounces of salt. Later a deeper well nearby gave a stronger brine, one hundred gallons of water yielding a bushel of the mineral.

It was agreed by Blackman that Treat, Beckwith and Whitcomb should be equal partners in the venture, each to pay his portion of the expenses. Beckwith and Whitcomb were left in charge and the others returned to Fort Harrison for a team, tools and provisions, with a view to operating on a larger scale. In the latter part of November Treat returned, coming up the Wabash and Vermilion rivers in a dugout, with necessary supplies, and bringing his wife and children.

A rude cabin was hastily erected and into this shelter moved the first permanent settlers in Vermilion county. The date was November 27, 1819.[1] It was a winter of privation and suffering for the Treats, made more poignant by the death of a little one while the January storms raged around the hovel. "Beckwith and Whitcomb tended the fire that thawed the frozen ground where we buried our baby."[2] Since then the unmarked grave of the first to die in Old Vermilion has been desecrated by the avarice of the coal man with his giant shovel.

Spring came on apace, but the joy of the Treats on noting the bursting buds on the trees was saddened by the news that Blackman—ever a trickster—had journeyed to Vandalia and made application for the use of the Salines in his own name only.

Then followed endless bickering, with the filing of charges and counter-charges with the Governor, and a lease was not given until 1822, and then for a four-year term only. This resulted from a lengthy conference, called by Governor Bond, in which the various claimants were satisfied. But so large a company could not hope for profits. The enterprise lagged until 1824, when Major Vance secured possession of the plant and lease.

The Major came not as a prospective settler, but in furtherance of the commercial dream of his younger brother.[3] The previous year Joseph had embarked into business as a peddler of salt and had found it profitable. With a load of the mineral and a yoke of oxen he had built up a following in the scattered settlements in southern Ohio and northern Kentucky and now proposed to control his own source of supply.[4]

Salt had ever been so necessary a part of man's diet that much of the early history of human warfare revolved around the possession of sources of the mineral. Hence the location and possession of saline springs and salt beds in various parts of the country were a matter of grave concern in the early days to the heads of the National government.

When the Enabling Act authorizing the inhabitants of the Territory of Illinois to form a constitution and establish a State government was passed and approved April 18, 1818, Section 6 provided, First "That Section 16 in every township shall be granted to the State for the use of the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools," and, Second, "That all Salt Springs within such State and the land reserved for the use of said State and the same to be used under such

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[1] History of Vermilion County, Illinois, by Hiram W. Beckwith, 1879.

[2] Letter written by Treat to Governor Bond, April 12, 1821.

[3] Joseph Colville Vance, by C. B. Galbreath, in Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, p. 428.

[4] The people of the eastern section of your State are very anxious that the manufacture of salt might be gone into. Appearances at the Vermilion Salines justify the belief that salt may be made north of this sufficient for the consumption of all the settlers on the Wabash, and much below the present prices. Nearly all the salt consumed above the mouth of the Wabash is furnished by Kentucky, and the transportation so far up streams materially enhances the price, and in the present undeveloped state of the country as to money, prevents a majority of the farmers from procuring the quantity of this necessary article that their stock, etc., requires.—Letter from James B. McCall, Vincennes, Ind., to Governor Bond, June 8, 1820.

terms and conditions and regulations as the legislature of such State shall direct; provided, the legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a period longer than ten years at any one time."[5]

In the Act it was stated that the free acceptance of the provisions of both proposals was necessary and "if accepted by the Convention shall be obligatory upon the United States and the said State."

In the original surveys a number of Springs had been reported in the Shawneetown district and in other sections of the State, but the reservations, as included in the Enabling Act, only transferred the Great Wabash Saline in the Shawneetown district and the Salines of the Vermilion. Even then the boundaries of the latter were not specified and it was not until March 26, 1824, that President James Monroe proclaimed the tract to embrace forty-one sections in Township 19, North Ranges 12 and 13 West, embracing 24,869 acres.

By an Act of the Constitutional convention August 26, 1818, the terms of the two propositions were accepted "on behalf of and by the authority of the People of Illinois."[6]

Shortly after Statehood it was called to the attention of Governor Bond that the Vermilion Springs were located in Section 16—the school section—and one of the heritages of Governor Edward Coles was the successful negotiation of the presidential consent to change the school section of this particular township to No. 28.[7]

Little development marked the first few years of operation and it appears that the output was but little more than was warranted by the needs of the few settlers within a day's journey. With the advent of Major Vance, however, the Works became a place of importance and as the news of the industry travelled to the distant settlements purchasers came by ox-cart or on horseback from points at far North as the Wisconsin border and from the huddled settlements of Northern Indiana. Buyers came, too, from the St. Louis and Kaskaskia territory and others made the journey from Fort Clark and Fort St. Louis on the Illinois river. It was a real business center. "In those days," says H. A. Coffeen in his interesting pioneer history of the County (printed in 1870) "the motto seemed to be 'more wagon roads to the Salt Works'." Even the local settlers realized the importance of the industry and when in 1828 Samuel Gilbert applied for license to operate his ferry across the Vermilion at Danville, the Commissioners granted his plea and with the same autocracy as shown today by our Central Government, proceeded to regulate the charges he might make: For crossing man and horses, 12½ cents; wagon and horse, 18¾ cents; wagon and two horses or oxen, 25 cents, and then decreed that infant industries must be fostered by adding, "Persons going to mill or the Salt Works, Half the above rates."[8]

But the written history of the Salines is older than that. In old French records it is related that this spot was the half-way rest for the

[5] United States Statutes at Large, Vol. III, p. 428.
[6] Session Laws of Illinois, 1819.
[7] Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834, Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV.
[8] Records Commissioners' Court of Vermilion County, Illinois, 1826.

weary peasantry of sunny France when they traveled overland from Detroit to their new homes-to-be in Kaskaskia and Cahokia.[9] Old records and traditions tell us, too, that the Salines were the center of more Indian trails than any point within a six-day journey. Historic ground—the Salines of the Vermilion—that had been a haven to weary travelers since 1706 and had even felt the tread of the only armed Spanish force that ever invaded American soil, when Don Eugene Pueree and his daring band of fighting Dons paused here for three days while enroute from St. Louis on their foray against the British fort on St. Joseph river, in the present state of Michigan.[10] A mere gesture in the mighty war being waged by England and Spain far across the sea, but in sooth an invasion of the territory of the United States—our territory by virtue of the capture of Post Vincennes by George Rogers Clark and his bordermen in 1779. Historic ground, indeed, which at one time was under the flag of France, by right of discovery; later under the banner of Great Britain, by virtue of conquest and later and still a part of our own Confederation of States, as guaranteed when the proud Cornwallis offered his sword to Washington at Yorktown. Historic ground, too, in 1750, when the Jesuit Fathers trekked from Montreal and lived and labored among the Indians whose village at that time extended a good ten miles along the banks of the Vermilion and where they showed advanced civilization by enclosing their plots of maize and pumpkins with rude brush fences to denote individual ownership.[11]

It was not until 1824, when Major Vance secured possession of the plant and lease that the Works really came into production. He soon increased his original kettles to eighty, and the weekly output of salt to 100 bushels, which found a ready market at $1.25 and $1.50 per bushel. In the operation nine men were employed, five of them being kept busy chopping wood for the furnaces, although an abundance of coal cropped out from the bluffs within a few feet of the fires.

John Wilson Vance was born near the Indian town of Catfish, now Washington, Pa., March 17, 1782, the son of Joseph Colville and Sarah Wils (correct) Vance. His father was a veteran of the Revolution and as a private in Captain Saul Vail's company of Colonel Daniel Morgan's riflemen, served throughout that struggle. He was with his company during Arnold's disastrous expedition into Canada, was present at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and in the battleline when the Americans routed the Britishers under Lord Tarleton at the Cowpens.[12] In the spoil of this battle were two cannon that Morgan's troops had captured from Burgoyne at Saratoga and which later were lost by General Gates at Camden. Later they were to be of service when Washington closed in on Cornwallis at Yorktown.

At the age of 6 he accompanied his parents down the Ohio on a raft to a station called Vanceburg, on the Kentucky side of the river.

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[9] Prairie Trails and Their Travellers, Historic Illinois, by Randall Parrish, 1906.

[10] March of the Spanish Across Illinois, Edward G. Mason, Magazine of American History, May, 1886.

[11] Historic Notes of the Northwest, by Hiram W. Beckwith.

[12] Life of General Daniel Morgan.

Later the family settled on a farm on Mays creek, and the home became a station of the Kentucky Rangers. In 1801 he emigrated with his family to the Northwest Territory and established a residence at Clifton, in what is now Green county, Ohio. Four years later the family removed to Urbana, Champaign county, that state.[13]

Such education as he managed to acquire was largely through his own efforts. His father taught him to read, write and cipher, but his only school advantage was a six-month term under an itinerant Irish schoolmaster. An avid reader, in later years his knowledge of affairs was a matter of comment among the pioneers.

While always known in Illinois as the Major, this title seems to have been more or less honorary. While the records show that he served three short enlistments with Ohio troops during the War of '12, one of which was as a scout with General Hull's ill-fated expedition into Canada, he always was recorded in the roster as a private.[14]

But in the public affairs of Vermilion he became a strong leader of strong men in the days when Illinois was young. The Works soon became a place of importance, with a dozen cabins. In 1825 he built the Vance tavern there and when the county was created from a part of Edgar in 1826 one of the early acts of the commissioners was to grant him a tavern license and mandated the prices he might charge his patrons. Great days those when the Major could by law charge but 18¾ cents for a quart of whiskey, 18¾ cents for a meal and 6¼ cents for a bed. Later when the Works went into a decline, he gave the tavern to his nephew, Joseph Kelly, who removed it to a point near St. Joseph, where it was to become the dinner stop when Judge David Davis, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Whitney and the other Circuit Riders traveled from Urbana to Danville. At the time of the birth of the county the Works was the most important settlement, and of course was selected by the Commissioners as the logical site for the Seat of Justice. Because of the lowness of the land and the water problem the settlers were not satisfied, and in accord with the general sentiment that the place was ill-suited for a town, the Major refused to waive his rights under the lease, with the result that a new set of Commissioners were appointed, who accepted the proposition of Guy Smith and Dan Beckwith to give of their holdings—and Danville came into being April 10, 1827.[15]

The building up of the county-seat, together with the discovery of great quantities of brine upon the Kenawha river in Virginia and the completion of a government pier at the mouth of Chicago creek, making a practical harbor for lake vessels to enter, created a competition that could not be met. Soon the settlement of a dozen cabins, the Vance

[13] Historical Collections of Ohio, by Henry Howe. 1850.

[14] Ohio War Records of 1812, Vol. II.

[15] In the Enabling Act John Boyd and Joel Phelps of Crawford and Samuel Prevo of Clark county were appointed Commissioners to locate the Seat of Justice, and upon their failure to do so, an Act was passed December 26, 1826, naming William Morgan, Zachariah Peter and John Kirkpatrick, all of Sangamon, who accepted the offer of Guy Smith and Dan Beckwith and designated Danville as the county-seat.

tavern and the trading post began to show signs of decay. Two years previously Seymour Treat had started the exodus by erecting a cabin near the present city of Danville, which had formed the nucleus of his own town of Denmark, the site of which is now covered by the rippling waters of Danville's man-made Lake Vermilion. Here he operated his sawmill and served as a Justice of the Peace under the jurisdiction of Edgar County. Not long afterward George and Dan Beckwith had removed to the present site of Danville, where the latter established his trading post under the hill.[16] Next in line were James Wooden and Francis Whitcomb, who in 1830 moved to Butler's Point, now Catlin.[17] Major Vance was the next to migrate, and his choice was the new double cabin on the Vance farm in Oakwood township. Here it was where his first wife, Margaret Rutherford, was to find rest from the drudgery and drabness of a pioneer woman of the Thirties. It was December 20, 1835, when her soul entered the boat to cross the river. A son and a daughter were left behind to mourn. Sorrowing friends laid her to rest beneath a giant oak near the homestead, but today the only memento of this kindly and heroic soul is a simple headstone that has been salvaged and preserved. Vance loved her and revered her memory, but the present owner of the holdings is a frugal soul and long ago his plow overturned the topsoil and today in season growing corn bends to the breezes above her grave.

With the organization of Vermilion County the Major became active in politics and was an unsuccessful candidate for the legislature in 1828 and 1830, but in 1832 was elected to the senate and again chosen in 1834 and in 1836. He failed of election for this position in 1838 and again in 1846 and was defeated for the lower house in 1840. He was chosen, however, by a large majority, as a member of the Constitutional convention of 1847. He served as Register of Public Lands at Danville for a few years, having been appointed by President John Tyler in 1841.[18] An ardent Whig, he remained active in the affairs

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[16] So called from the fact that the rear wall was the bluff, in which a cave had been dug, where he stored his furs. The site is within the boundaries of Ellsworth park and faced the North Fork. Jim Clyman, whose diary and early life was printed by the California Historical society in 1928, was his clerk until 1833, when the county became "too crowded," and he emigrated to Wisconsin.

[17] Their brick residences still stand and are occupied.

[18] "Senate Chamber, Washington City
August 21st 1841.

"Confidential.

"Dear Sir:

"I received from you sometime since a very friendly letter, requesting me if opportunity should present and favor your claims to some office if a vacancy should occur of sufficient consequence to make the acceptance of it desirable. I reciprocate fully the friendly feelings manifested in your letter, and am gratified that an opportunity has presented itself which enables me to serve you. It is only necessary to say that Judge (Samuel) McRoberts and myself not only recommended you by letter but called personally to see President Tyler in your behalf, and in consequence your nomination has been sent to the senate this day for the Registership of the Land Office at Danville. I presume of course that your nomination will be confirmed unanimously. Your friend,

RICHARD M. YOUNG."

"John W. Vance, Esq., Near Danville, Ills."

of his party until 1856, when he followed his friend Lincoln into the republican ranks.

It was during his first term in the Senate that he acquired his title of "Father of Champaign County."[19] This was by reason of his having introduced the Enabling Act that formed the new unit. Possibly his action may have been in fulfillment of some pre-election promise, as the returns from Big Grove voting place, now in Champaign county, but then a part of Vermilion, carefully preserved in the D. A. R. museum in Danville, show a majority over his rival, Dan Beckwith. It was February 20, 1833, when the Act was passed and it is unique because of the fact that after reciting the usual legal stipulations, there was added a Section 6, which made it mandatory that the as yet unselected site of the Seat of Justice must be known by the name of Urbana.[20] Hard-headed business man that he was and one, too, who gave of his time and ability to the public weal, he was withal a dreamer and a poet, and this was his way of leaving a permanent memorial to the happy days of his youth when he woed and won Margaret Rutherford as a bride in Urbana, Champaign county, Ohio.

It was during his third term that he performed his greatest service to his constituents. This was in 1837 when the lawmakers ran hog-wild in the matter of internal improvements. Stephen A. Douglas, serving a term in the legislature as a member from Morgan county, proposed a plan in a series of resolutions, in which certain internal improvements were specifically described. The plan demanded the issuance of bonds in the sum of $10,000,000 and the construction by the State of eight lines of railroads. Among those contemplated was one to extend from Quincy on the West, through Jacksonville, Springfield, Decatur and Danville to the Indiana State line. For this particular improvement, known as the Northern Cross railway, now a part of the Great Wabash system, it was proposed to expend $1,800,000. When the bill was introduced in the Senate it met with the fierce opposition of the Major, who denounced the whole scheme as uneconomic and dangerous. His opposition continued until the day of pasage when its advocates agreed to insert a provision that the Northern Cross should be built first and that work should commence at each end as soon as the funds were available. Other recalcitrants, whose counties were not included in the plans, were placated by a blanket provision in the bill that $200,000 should be set aside for the building of bridges in such counties. Section 42 in the bill provided a safety precaution by making it obligatory that at all road crossings signboards should be erected, bearing the legend, in capital letters "of at least the size of nine inches each:

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[19] History of Champaign County, by John Stewart.

[20] Enabling Act Champaign County, Session Laws, 1833.

"RAILROAD CROSSING; LOOK OUT FOR THE ENGINE WHILE THE BELL RINGS."[21]

When the matter came to a vote it was found that the Major's support was not needed.[22] The result of this adventure by the State into public ownership is a matter of history, but when the crash came the road was in operation between Meredosia and Jacksonville and all the grading and filling between the Indiana line and the West border of Vermilion County had been completed. When under the management of L. Tilton the road finally was finished and the first train entered Danville in October, 1856, it was this pioneer work of the Thirties that enabled the road to be constructed in time to cause the builders of the Valley railroad, coming West from Toledo, Ohio, to change their plans and cross the Wabash river at Attica, Indiana, instead of a point further south, where they had expected to connect for St. Louis with another road at Paris, Illinois. It was a happy day for the Major when the first train came over the new bridge spanning the Vermilion at Danville, as he was a special guest and made the journey aboard the locomotive. During the trip there was another clinging to the engine, uninvited but joyous. He was Hiram W. Beckwith. At that time he had just finished as a law pupil of the immortal Lincoln in his Danville law office, of which Ward Hill Lamon was the local partner,[23] and later he was to become the recognized authority on Illinois history and was fittingly honored by being selected as the first President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

While the Major continued the operation of the Works until 1836, his public duties and other interests claimed most of his time and the actual management was delegated to his nephew, Joseph Kelly, upon the removal of the family to the Oakwood township home. It was in 1831, when the business of the Works began to decline, that the General Government decided that the terms under which the Saline

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[21] Sec. 41—Every locomotive engine, passing upon any railroad, shall have attached to the same a bell of not less than twenty-five pounds weight, and the said bell shall always be rung at the distance of at least sixty rods from the place where said railroad crosses any other railroad, turnpike road, highway or public road, upon the same level with the said road, and shall be kept ringing until the said engine and its train shall have crossed the said road or way.

Sec. 42—There shall be boards conspicuously put up, and constantly maintained, across each turnpike road or highway, crossing any railroads upon the same level therewith, in such a position as can be easily seen by travellers, and without obstructing the travel; and on each side of the said boards shall be printed in plain and legible capital letters, of at least the size of nine inches each;—" Railroad Crossing; Look Out for the Engine While the Bell Rings."—An Act to establish and maintain a General System of Internal Improvements. Approved February 27, 1837. Laws of Illinois, p. 146.

[22] Recollections of the Northern Cross Railroad, by George M. McConnell, Transactions of Illinois State Historical Society, 1908.

[23] This partnership was formed in 1852 and lasted until 1856, when Lamon moved to Bloomington, having been elected Prosecuting Attorney for the old Eighth Circuit. The partnership was effective only for business in Vermilion and Edgar counties. The Danville *Weekly Citizen* for 1852 carried their Professional card in its advertising columns.

Reservations had been given to the State were unfair and accordingly an Act was approved March 3, that year, authorizing the State to sell all or part of the Reservation under such terms as the Legislature should impose.[24]

Without waiting for legislative action Amos Williams, register of Saline lands, the following October, began disposing of the outlaying part in 40-acre tracts at $1.25 per acre.[25] In two months he sold 8,972.42 acres for $11,319.50. The following year the sales amounted to 1,120 acres, for which $1,400 was received.[26] In the meantime the Legislature by resolution ordered Governor John Reynolds to use such monies as might be realized from the sale in the improvement of the Wabash river, provided the State of Indiana would expend a like amount. But the Hoosiers seem to have shown a lack of enthusiasm and later the fund on hand and other monies from this source was appropriated in small amounts to the various counties for the construction of bridges and road improvements.[27]

In 1833, approved March 3, the Legislature took official action and passed an Act authorizing the sale of all the Reservation in forty-acre tracts. This was done, and the sales continued at intervals until 1838, when the last 160 acres was disposed of. It was in 1836 that the 120 acres upon which the Springs and Works were located were sold at $8.00 per acre to the joint ownership of the Major, Samuel McRoberts, afterward United States senator, and Gurdon S. Hubbard, the pioneer Indian trader, who had at that time removed to Chicago.[28] A few years later the Major lost his interest through the foreclosure of a mortgage. In all 22,757.64 acres were disposed of for the sum of $29,210.73.

The new owners of the Works leased the same in 1836 to Isaac Wolfe, of Butler's Point, who continued operation until 1840, and the government census for that year reports an investment of $6,000 and that 3,000 bushels of salt, valued at $1,455 were produced there the previous year. After 1840 the Works were abandoned and the kettles and other equipment were left on the ground to be salvaged by anyone interested. The cabins soon were deserted until only Mother Bloss remained. Here she dwelt until her death in 1846, ekeing out a precarious existence with her garden and from the sale of salt in the stores in Danville. Her one claim to fame rested in the fact that her daughter Ruby was the first bride in Vermilion county.[29]

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[24] Laws of the United States, Vol. IV.

[25] Amos Williams was Vermilion County's Pooh Bah. He assisted in surveying the County and in the laying out of Danville. He was selected as the stock poundmaster when Danville was founded and was elected county clerk, clerk of the commissioners' court, clerk of the circuit court, judge of the probate court, county recorder, register of saline lands, master in chancery and was appointed as postmaster and qualified as notary public from the organization of the county until 1843. He died in 1857.

[26] Salt Land Book, Vermilion County Records.

[27] Illinois Session Laws, 1833-35-37.

[28] The tract embraced the W. ½ of NW. ¼ Sec. 16-19-12 and SE. ½ NE. ¼ Sec. 17-19-12 West.

[29] Her marriage to Cyrus Douglas was celebrated January 27, 1825, in the cabin of Squire Seymour Treat, at Denmark, the latter having been appointed a justice of the peace under the jurisdiction of Edgar county.

In the Nineties the land was secured by a coal company, who with their giant shovel removed the dirt from the mineral and left desolation in the wake. Wildwood and tares now cover the site of the first settlement, but a promised activity of the D. A. R. for this year is the placing of a suitable tablet near the scene of actual operations.

With the disposal of the Works the Major did not lose interest in public affairs but continued his efforts to develop the county. In 1836 and again in 1840 he, in conjunction with his brother, the Governor, brought to the County a number of Durham or Shorthorn cattle, that were sold to the settlers at a minimum price.[30] That did much to improve the standard, but part of the gain soon was lost, as it was customary to allow all livestock to run at large, and the pure blood soon was crossed with that of the scrubs that had been brought in at an earlier date. In the old Branding Book in the County records it is shown that the Major's stock brand was two slits in the left ear.

In 1850 he brought to the County a blooded jack, the services of which were free to his neighbors. That he was a prize winner is shown by the records of the old Catlin fair, where it is written that in 1852 a horn-handle razor was awarded the owner as a token of superiority of his entry.

The old Catlin fair was the result in large part of the efforts of the Major. In 1850, in co-operation with Ward Hill Lamon, Danville law partner of Abraham Lincoln and later his bodyguard during the War Between the States; James Millikin, then a Vermilion county sheep raiser, who later was to become a Decatur millionaire and leave a splendid university to perpetuate his name, and a dozen other sturdy pioneers, met and organized the association. The first two exhibitions were held at Danville and then a tract of land was secured near Catlin, suitable buildings were erected, a quarter-mile race track was laid out, and for forty years the annual session was the social event of the year.[31] Here each fall, after the harvests had been garnered and the leaves had taken on an autumn tint, the old-timers who had withstood the rigors of the Winters of the Twenties, the Thirties and the Forties, would foregather and sing the praises of God's chosen acres, while their sons and daughters would be viewing the prize quilts in the floral hall, going into ecstasies over the fruit from the Johnny Appleseed orchards[32] or succumbing to the persuasive tongues of the barkers of the sideshows.

Thus the Major carried on—a Rotarian before Rotary he ever was ready to aid in any movement that promised to be of benefit to his fellow men. In 1827 he had shut down the Works on short notice when Gurdon Hubbard brought the appeal of John Kinzie, Jean Beaubien and the other white settlers at Chicago for aid from an expected attack by the Winnebagos and marched away with the Vermilion

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[30] Recollections of J. H. Oakwood, Printed Proceedings Old Settlers' Association Vermilion County, Illinois, 1885.

[31] Minute Book Catlin Fair.

[32] In the Spring of 1826 John Chapman ("Johnny Appleseed") while floating down the Wabash river to Vincennes, Ind., came inland from Perrysville, Indiana, to Vermilion County, where he planted several orchards in Catlin and Oakwood townships. Several of the trees still survive.

Rangers under command of Captain Achilles Morgan and with them remained on duty at Fort Dearborn until word came that the war was over. He also found time in 1832 to enlist in Captain John B. Thomas' company for service in the Black Hawk war and was elected a lieutenant. Before leaving for the front he was chosen by Colonel Isaac R. Moores as regimental purchasing agent or commissary.[33] He organized the ox train, with supplies, that carried the children and infirm of the Pottawatomies of the Upper Wabash Valley—1,000 strong—who reached Danville in the summer of 1838, hungry and travel worn, sullen and mean, in their enforced exile to the Reservation in Kansas. He accompanied them to Fort Clark, where the government plans for their well-being once more functioned.[34] His own farm was given over to the care of others while he gave service in the public weal.

In 1836 he was united in marriage with Desiah Rathburn, the daughter of Mrs. Lura Guymon, who came to the County in 1833, and as the pioneer midwife lived to boast of having officiated at the birth of more than 1,000 children. Her image adorns the collection of Illinois women in the Historical Library here in Springfield. To this union four sons and five daughters were born, and when in the Sixties there was a call for men to defend the flag, the two of fighting age—one had died in childhood—marched away, and while they battled in many a bloody slaughter, the daughters of John W. Vance labored in the fields.

John W. Vance came to old Vermilion in the days when Opportunity was not only knocking but pounding, yet he died poor in material things. The only heritage he left his family was a record of public service well done and of honest dealings with his fellow men. It was May 6, 1857, when the summons came, and was the result of pneumonia which he contracted while attending court as a juror at the county seat. One of his daughters, whose memory as a wonderful mother, I ever will revere, has told me of the evening when they brought him to the homestead, lying on a bed of straw in a farm wagon. Fevered and delirious, he still had thought only of public good, and his last coherent words were of plans for bridges in various parts of the County.

They laid him to rest in Jimmy Butler's God's Acre, the first

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[33] "I also served in a volunteer regiment commanded by Colonel Isaac R. Moores in the Black Hawk war and was elected lieutenant in Captain John B. Thomas' company and afterward detailed by Colonel Moores purchasing and issuing commissary to said regiment, in which capacity I served during the trip, and after our return home I had to make two trips to St. Louis to settle the amounts for cattle taken and killed for the use of the regiment, together with other amounts for flour, bacon and other things belonging to the Commissary department, for which services I expended over fifty dollars in travelling 400 miles back and forward. The second charge is for services done in the Black Hawk war in Moores' regiment, raised at Danville, Vermilion county, Illinois.—Affidavit of John W. Vance, when he applied for Bounty Land for military service, under the Act of September 29, 1850.

[34] Recollections of the Early Settlements of the Wabash Valley, by Sanford Cox, Lafayette, Ind., 1860.

public burying ground in Vermilion County.[35] It is situate West of Catlin, a good half mile from the main traveled highway, over by the railroad tracks. Here he sleeps alongside Jimmy Butler, the first dirt farmer; Grandma Guymon, the first midwife; Asa Elliott, the first justice of the peace; Cyrus Douglas and his good wife, Ruby Bloss, the first bridal couple; Marquis Snow and his good wife, Annis Butler, the second bridal couple; the Unknown Stranger, whose broken body was found far out on the prairies when the snows of the Winter of 1822 had melted; Lieutenant Joseph F. Clyce, the Vermilion county soldier boy whose body was the first to be returned to the homeland from the shambles of the South, and four score more of the sturdy pioneers who strode forth from their primitive cabins at break of morn to battle with and finally conquer the tangle of the wildwood and the rank growth of the prairie in the days when Illinois was young. Here upon occasion men and women of the younger generation foregather and gain inspiration to better things. For, if you please, in 1929 the Board of Supervisors met in solemn conclave and ordained that a road be purchased and opened, that the fallen headstones be restored and pledged the faith of Old Vermilion that this last resting place of John W. Vance and others of his day shall be maintained as a shrine.

His only public recognition in the official records was in the naming of Vance township. It is meet that the palatial trains of the mighty Wabash of today cut its broad acres and thunder past his tomb.

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[35] James Butler came to the County from Ohio in 1820 and settled at Butler's Point, where he was the first to turn the soil. In 1823 he set aside the first burial ground in a curious document, which he filed at Paris, then county-seat of Edgar County, and stated that the "title to this God's Acre shall rest in the bones of those who find rest here." Without official control the burial ground came into disuse in the Eighties, and later the present owner of the surrounding land had used the plot as part of a hoglot. Vandals, too, had invaded the Acre and carried off most of the headstones. In 1929 it was discovered that Cyrus and Bettie Sandusky, then owners of the tract, had in 1850 deeded the ground to the "Supervisors of Vermilion County." Agitation by the D. A. R. at that time resulted in the Board taking control and declaring the pioneer burial ground as a shrine.

PRESENTATION OF BRONZE BUST OF MRS. MYRA BRADWELL, FIRST WOMAN LAWYER OF ILLINOIS

By Mrs. Eleanor Gridley

I am sure that everyone in this audience feels keen disappointment and genuine regret that Mrs. Myra Helmer Pritchard is unable to be here this afternoon and obliged to appoint a representative.

I am indeed sorry that you are denied the pleasure of meeting this exceedingly charming woman, who, in many respects resembles her distinguished grandmother—Myra Bradwell.

Although highly honored and greatly pleased to have been chosen by Mrs. Pritchard to represent her, it is with considerable reluctance I undertake the mission she has given me, although Myra Bradwell was an intimate and long-time friend.

Myra Bradwell and her newly-wed husband, James B. Bradwell, began life together as teachers—they both had chosen a scholastic career. It was not long, however, before the young wife became convinced of her husband's ability to sustain an argument, which generally ended in an affirmative decision. With the habitual sweet persuasiveness, the wife induced her husband to engage in the study of law—no easy task in those early pioneer days, and the daily living to make. Her husband passed his examination, was admitted to the bar, and set sail for Chicago—a mere embryo city—where he located and hung out his shingle.

Myra Bradwell became interested in her husband's profession and under his tutelage applied herself vigorously to her studies. Passing a most creditable examination and now qualified to practice. Aflame with joy and anticipation she, also, sought admission to the Bar. Her plea was denied—because of disability;—"She was a woman."

Indignant at having been denied her rights as a citizen of the commonwealth, but not discouraged, the plucky little woman filed an additional brief and combated forcibly the opinion of the Court. Again admission to the Bar was denied her and upon the sole ground that she was a woman.

Spurred to further effort by this adverse opinion, Myra Bradwell thereupon sued out a Writ of Error against the State of Illinois, in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Hon. Matt Carpenter, Senator from Wisconsin, represented Mrs. Bradwell, and despite the distinguished jurist's splendid effort to secure Mrs. Bradwell's admission to the Bar, the judgment of the Supreme Court of Illinois was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. There was one dissenting voice, however,—that of the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, who, loyal to woman's ability, voted in the affirmative.

During the progress of her case, Mrs. Bradwell was subjected to extreme embarrassment. Her personal manners outrageously aped. her speech falsely reported—while the idle curious followed her about the streets of Washington as if she were some wild animal from the jungle, instead of a modest and highly respected woman.

A statement in the "American Review" of that time said, "Mrs. Bradwell's application was the first serious effort attempted by a woman to share the labors of the law since the fourteenth century."

Never again did Myra Bradwell renew her plea for admission to the Bar—yet, twenty years afterwards, and much to her surprise, she received a certificate of admission, and upon the original application and from the very same Court that had refused her admission twenty years before; and also directed a license to practise and to be issued on her first application. The date of admission made Myra Bradwell the first woman lawyer in the United States; she was the first woman lawyer in the State of Illinois. She was also the first woman admitted to the Illinois State Bar, the first woman admitted to the Illinois State Press Association, and a charter member of the Illinois Woman's Press Association.

Myra Bradwell continued to assist her husband in his office, but more determined than ever to engage in some legal activity, she set about finding an outlet to meet her desire and satisfy her ambition.

In 1868, in face of great discouragement, Myra Bradwell succeeded in establishing the Chicago Legal News,—the pioneer weekly newspaper of the west. As editor and manager of her publication, she was the only woman in the world to occupy such a position; she continued to fill the dual position until almost the hour of her passing.

In the Chicago fire of 1871, Mrs. Bradwell not only suffered the loss of her home, but the plant of the News was totally destroyed by the great conflagration. This serious loss did not dismay this woman of undaunted courage. She had her paper printed and published in Milwaukee, which gave her the record of never missing an issue from its inception to the one published a few days before her translation.

So ably edited, carefully prepared, court proceedings, opinions, and decisions, so accurately reported was the record of this woman's journal that the legislature gave Mrs. Bradwell a special charter and passed several acts which made it evidence in courts and a valid medium for the publication of legal notices.

For a moment let us touch upon an unusual side of her business life. Once at her office, after having "swept and garnished" her home, as she expressed it, she devoted herself strictly to business matters, except during the noon hour, from twelve to one o'clock. And oh! that noon hour, when the door of her office stood wide open, and Myra Bradwell, always gowned in attire of unusual attractiveness, welcomed her callers—and there were many of them,—judges, prominent lawyers, professors, and prominent business men. With an air befitting a royal lady, she dispensed hospitality, serving her callers with a dainty collation. I have often shared with her this delightful and unusual "business affair," and have also read many letters from callers afar, extolling Myra Bradwell's charm, her beauty, and her genius.

Another instance of woman's disability—in 1870, sixty lawyers of Chicago solicited Governor John M. Palmer to appoint Mrs. Bradwell as Notary Public, but the Governor could not legally grant the prayer of the petition, as she was a married woman and could not properly execute the bond required by the statute, although he declared, "There is no one I would more cheerfully appoint, if the matter were within the limits of my office or discretion."

Myra Bradwell did not confine her activities to one field of action. She was an ardent supporter of Universal Suffrage. She circulated the call for the first Woman's Suffrage Convention in Chicago, after having obtained the names of all the Judges in Cook County, as well as the leading members of the Bar and also the ministers of the city.

Myra Bradwell secured the law allowing women to vote for school officers. The law giving to married women their own earnings was drawn by Myra Bradwell and its passage secured through her efforts. Myra Bradwell was the only woman given her own earnings by special act of the Legislature. Myra Bradwell procured the passage of an act by the Illinois Legislature granting to all persons, irrespective of sex, freedom in selecting a profession. Myra Bradwell was a pioneer in opening the legal profession for women and with keen foresight she saw that the steppingstone to the emancipation of her sex was to secure the property rights of women.

During the Civil War, Myra Bradwell was very active in receiving and caring for sick and wounded soldiers. The Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held in Chicago in 1865, the proceeds of which were to be used in establishing a permanent Soldier's Home, was a memorable Exposition and its tremendous success was largely due to the united efforts of Myra Bradwell and her husband, Judge Bradwell. They were members of the Soldiers Home Association for many years.

Myra Bradwell was appointed by the Governor of Illinois a delegate to the Prison Reform Congress at St. Louis, and through her efforts, after a hard struggle, a woman was allowed representation on the list of officers; a distinction she declined when offered her.

The Governor of the State of Illinois appointed Myra Bradwell as a member of the Illinois Association, which was to represent the interests of Illinois at the Centennial Exposition to be held in Philadelphia in 1876, and was made treasurer of the association.

The Industrial School for Girls at Evanston was one of the many institutions of which Myra Bradwell was a charter member,—she served its best interests as treasurer of the organization for fifteen years.

Myra Bradwell was untiring in her efforts to secure for Chicago, the World's Fair, and was appointed by the Governor of Illinois a member of the committee sent to Washington to represent Chicago's interests. Hon. T. W. Palmer, president of the World's Fair, said, "In fact, Myra Bradwell's charm and diplomacy secured for Chicago the World's Columbian Exposition." She was a member of the Board of Lady Managers, and acted as chairman of the committee on law reform at the auxiliary congress.

Paul L. Gilbert writes in his "Chicago and Its Makers,"—"A sketch of all undertakings in which Myra Bradwell was interested would be a history almost of the growth of this great city."

Abraham Lincoln and his wife—the two most distinguished residents of this beautiful Capital City, often visited the Bradwell home, and they, in turn, were frequent visitors of the Lincolns.

After the tragic death of President Lincoln, his distracted widow, as soon as she was able, came to Chicago and sought out her former friends. The frantic woman's plea for sympathy and comfort received willing and generous response. Under the advice and assistance of these genuine friends, Mrs. Lincoln purchased a home in close proximity to that of Judge and Mrs. Bradwell, where she resided for several years.

But more wretched days befell Mary Todd Lincoln,—distraction, agony, grief, continued to follow her. "When all others, among them my husband's supposed friends, failed me in the most bitter hours of my life, these loyal hearts, Myra Bradwell and her husband, came to my assistance and rescued me, and under great difficulty secured my release from confinement in an insane asylum." These were words that Mary Todd Lincoln uttered and wrote. During Myra Bradwell's life, I was permitted to read many letters written to her by Mary Lincoln, and every one contained expressions of fervid affection and acknowledgment of the gratitude she owed the woman who saved her—rescued her—from "her place of confinement."

Myra Bradwell's home was the abode of peace—a sanctuary. Adored by her husband and beloved by her children, she reigned supreme. Her home was the gathering place for intellectuals—for distinguished men and women of other and many professions. Here she reigned, this woman of gentle breeding and tender heart. Here in this citadel of strength and security she dispensed her ever increasing alimony of cordial greeting, bounteous cheer, and hospitable repast.

To those who came for aid and comfort, she gave most tender consideration and helpful assistance.

Myra Bradwell's signal service to humanity was rendered in employing her legal talents for the relief and emancipation of her sex.

And now, after all the years between then and now, I have the honor of presenting to the State Historical Society, this beautiful bronze bust of Myra Bradwell, in the name of her granddaughter, Mrs. Myra Helmer Pritchard—a tribute of love to her distinguished grandmother.

Here in these beautiful rooms it is placed that men and women may look upon the highest type of womanhood—a woman who was the personification of filial affection, faithful wifehood, and devoted motherhood.

PART III

Contributions to State History

1931

LINCOLN AND LAMON: PARTNERS AND FRIENDS

By Clint Clay Tilton

CHAPTER I

The scene was the office of the Charleston hotel, in Charleston, South Carolina, March 25, 1861. A broad-shouldered giant, 6 feet 2 inches in height, had just entered the lobby, when a seedy looking individual, kicking a rope into the center of the room, approached the visitor and pointing to the hempen strand, asked: "Do you think that is strong enough to hang a damned Lincoln hireling?"

There were words—momentous words—back and forth and it appeared that mob rule would score another victim, when—but let the hero tell the story:

"... Hon. Lawrence Keitt, who approached me, and laying his hand familiarly on my shoulder, said,

" 'Why, Lamon, old fellow, where did you come from? I am glad to see you.'

"The seedy looking individual showed great astonishment. 'Keitt! said he, 'do you speak to that Lincoln hireling?' "

" 'Stop,' thundered Keitt, 'you insult Lamon and you insult me. He is a gentleman and my friend. Come, Lamon, let us take a drink.' "—*Recollections of Lincoln*, by Ward Hill Lamon.

And they did.

And that was neither the first nor the last time that our hero violated what today is the law of the land. He was an ante-bellum Virginia gentleman, suh, and as such he loved his "likker." During a most colorful career there are frequent interludes when he accepted or extended the invitation to have a drink, and, truth to tell, if alone he acted the dual role of host and guest—and drank them both. He, however, never forgot that he was a Virginia gentleman, and he always took them standing.

It was in 1847 when Ward Hill Lamon arrived in Danville, Illinois, then a settlement of size and a county seat in the Old Eighth Judicial Circuit. He was then 19 years of age, having been born near Winchester, Virginia, January 6, 1828. At the age of 2, with his parents, he had removed to the little town of Bunker Hill in what is now the state of West Virginia. Here he received a common school education and for two years studied medicine.

He had trekked Westward in response to glowing letters from his cousin, Dr. Theodore Lemon—note the spelling—whose professional card in the *Danville Patriot* of that year proudly declared that he was

"prepared to practice Physic and Surgery by appointment." He also had been urged to locate in the state by an uncle, James Lemen—note the spelling—who was a Baptist minister in Monroe county, and who later had his brief day in the public eye, after Abraham Lincoln's untimely death, by bobbing up with a claim that for twenty years he had been the martyr's spiritual advisor, and even exhibited a written prayer which he claimed he had transcribed which Abe, then a member of the legislature at Vandalia, had delivered "with gusto and earnestness." The statement has been doubted.

A contrary lot, these Lamons, if we are to judge by their spelling. It would seem that each family of the clan had some special reason for the distinguishing name. In the politics of the day, too, there was discord. James Lemen was an abolitionist, the son of James Lemen Sr., who claimed to have had his move to Illinois financed by Thomas Jefferson that he might organize the settlers to resist the efforts of southern emigrants to make Illinois a slave state. Dr. Theodore Lemon was a last-ditch Jackson Democrat, with the courage of his convictions to single-handed face a mob of furloughed soldiers during the War Between the States in defense of his opinion. Even today when men and women of Danville are wont to meet and reminiscence the story of the doctor's daring will hold attention. He, too, gets a place in Lincoln lore by reason of a dissertation on "milk-sickness" in which he gives his method of treatment and which finds a place in several of the many Lincoln biographies, for, be it remembered, it was the ravages of that disease that gave old Tom Lincoln an excuse to leave Gentryville, Indiana, and migrate to Illinois. One could imagine it was the cousin, Ward Hill, who had conceived the cure, for besides including calomel, castor oil and quinine, with blisters on the stomach, it demanded, best of all, "brandy or good whisky freely administered throughout the disease."

When making his political affiliations Ward Hill found the field restricted if he was to follow the family tradition and took the only course possible by becoming an ardent Whig and this he remained until he followed his friend Lincoln into the ranks of the newly-founded Republican party in 1856.

The fall of 1847 found the hero comfortably established as a boarder in his cousin's home in Danville, the owner of two fine saddle horses, with sufficient money coming from home to meet his needs and a knowledge that he did not want to become a doctor. It accordingly was arranged that he should begin the study of law in the office of Judge Oliver L. Davis. It also found him a Cavalier among the ladies, a champion wrestler, a demon of courage in rougher combat, a perpetrator of rough jokes, a lusty chorus leader and in town affairs a Rotarian before Rotary. A versatile chap, this Virginia Cavalier, and through it all he could—and did—drink divers and sundry, and as a gentleman should, he always took them standing.

In mildewed letters of the belles and beaux of long ago, telling of the social life of the town, there are frequent and friendly mention of the Cavalier as the life of the parties, whether at the home of Dr. John Scott, where exhilarating liquors were served, or in the

manse of Elder Enoch Kingsbury, where the more godly were wont to foregather in decorous revelry.

There are other records of the activities of the Cavalier. It has been found that when the town had attained the distinction of a city magistrate his first entry on the docket was The People vs. Ward Hill Lamon and James D. Kilpatrick, disorderly conduct, on complaint of Jacob Schatz, grocer. It is believed that they were guilty, as they so pleaded, and were mulcted $1 and costs. Tradition has it that the arrest was the outcome of a beating the two had given the worthy merchant when he refused them an added supply of liquor on a credit basis. But "Chickamauga Jim" Kilpatrick, who now sleeps in the Soldier's Circle in Springhill cemetery, then the editor of a town weekly newspaper, always contended that the assault was a godly act, because in his own newspaper two weeks later there appeared the following paid advertisement:

"QUIT SELLING WHISKEY.

"I wish to inform the people of this vicinity that I have concluded to deal no more in the article of WHISKEY. No person need apply to me for any hereafter, because I am determined to sell no more.

JACOB SCHATZ."

There are written records of his Rotarianism in the mildewed pages of the proceedings of the first county fair, held in the fall of 1850 in the river bottoms near Danville. It is stated that the meeting to organize for this great event was in response to a call signed by Lamon, John W. Vance—pioneer salt maker—and James Millikin—then a local sheep raiser who later was to move to Decatur, Illinois, become a banker and leave a great university as a memorial. The Cavalier had returned that spring from Louisville, Kentucky, where, as a classmate of "Black Jack" John A. Logan, he had spent the winter attending law school, from which he graduated and had been admitted to the Kentucky bar before returning to Danville and receiving a similar honor. The fair was a two-day event and Lamon was not only the promoter but furnished most of the entertainment. The secretary's record tells that he paid $2 for the privilege of exhibiting a "monkey in a tent" and that in the contest for speed his trotting horse was the only entry. In order that the yeomenry who had traveled from the various settlements might not be disappointed, it was arranged that the steed, trotting under saddle, should contest against his own record. It is gravely stated in the archives that he won and was awarded a purse of $5.00.

Knowing Ward Hill, it is safe to assume that that night he and kindred spirits celebrated the victory by many draughts from a bottle of Cole & Spencer's Best at the Old McCormick house, where by order of the county commissioners, who granted the tavern license, it must be sold for 18¾ cents a quart.

And be it known, it was a mark of honor to be invited to spend a night in revelry with the gallant young Virginian, who already had become a man of affairs in the growing town. Not only was he known as a lawyer with a future, but he also had the distinction of being a member of the only firm of real estate brokers in the county. His partner was Ehud Turner, late of Jefferson county, Virginia, who had

come west when the Cavalier had wed his daughter, Angeline, in September, that year. That business methods seldom change and real estate men always put the best foot forward is evidenced by their advertisement in the town weekly that their place of business was in "Office Room No. 1 and Office Room No. 2 in the Barnum Building." It also had been noticed that at the October term of the Circuit Court Mr. Lincoln, who was the most popular lawyer who rode the circuit, had showed a marked interest in the young Virginian and had appeared with him in several cases. Two years later—in November, 1852—a partnership was formed.

CHAPTER II

This partnership, which was effective only in the territory served by the Vermilion county court, was really the culmination of a friendship that began in the spring of 1848, when Lincoln made his first appearance over the entire Eighth circuit. No two men ever were more unlike than Lincoln and Lamon: One the quiet teller of stories—the other the boisterous singer of sentimental ballads and the so-called "comic" songs of the '50s; one the joker whose pranks never went farther than to place the victim in a ridiculous position—the other whose sense of humor was not satisfied unless there was an element of danger to the recipient of his attention; one who delighted in a solitary evening wrestling with the problems of Euclid—the other the sport, ever ready to participate in a horse race, foot race, wrestling match or to back his skill with real money in a friendly game of Old Sledge or Whist; one who only tasted intoxicants when by doing so it might cement a future political friend or attract a possible client—the other who bought his liquor by the gallon and served it out of a pitcher in the law office in the Old Barnum building to all who cared to call. But the friendship did exist and was to endure until that April night when to Lincoln life's mystery became an open book. It has been said that Lincoln gave full confidence to no one, but Judge David Davis is authority for the statement that "Abe trusted Lamon more than any other man." Lamon repaid this trust with a devotion that would inspire a classic on friendship.

Just what quality caused Lincoln to be attracted to the young Virginian will ever remain a mystery, but the printed records show he never faltered in his trust. Even during the darkest days of the War between the States, when a hostile Senate demanded Lamon's removal as Marshal of the District of Columbia, Lincoln stood firm. Perhaps he saw in him that same quality that endeared the Emancipator to his old law partner, Drunken Billy Herndon, of Springfield, who abstained from his cups long enough to give to the world the one real picture of the martyred president in the days when he was in the making. It is possible that in Lamon he noted some of the qualities that held his loyalty to General Ulysses S. Grant in the face of an almost universal demand that he be retired from command of an army because it was said he was drunk during the slaughter on Shiloh field. Or it may have been his sense of tolerance, as shown when he said,

"Don't you bother about Andy's drinking; he made a bad slip the other day, but I've known Andy Johnson a great many years and he's no drunkard," when the old Tennesseean celebrated his elevation from a Greeneville tailor shop to the second highest office in the gift of the people by appearing at his own inauguration gloriously lit up.

Lincoln stood true and Lamon paid with a devotion during those four harrowing years in Washington that left him a giant with shattered health when the Lincoln story became a closed book.

The close association between the two, which began with the formation of their partnership in 1852, was to last until 1857, when Lamon became prosecuting attorney for the Old Eighth Judicial district. Even then the tie was so strong that Lincoln to aid his former associate waived his rule not to prosecute in a criminal case and joined with the Cavalier in the handling of The People vs. Wyant on an indictment for murder, that had been venued from DeWitt to McLean county. The defense, conducted by Leonard Swett, was insanity and many experts were called. The trial attracted vast crowds and resulted in an acquittal. It is possible that the verdict came because of the weakness of the prosecution rather than the vigor of the defense. Lamon never was vindictive in prosecuting murder cases and Lincoln's antipathy to the handling of criminal matters is well known. There are several instances where he refused to be associated even in the defense in murder trials because, as he told Judge Davis and Leonard Swett, if his client was found guilty it gave him great mental anguish.

The partnership was destined to be successful and profitable. Lamon, a brilliant and resourceful lawyer, enjoyed a local popularity excelled by none and his open-handed hospitality in the matter of the well-filled pitcher of cheer that always decorated the table in his office gave him a following that furnished clients. Lincoln, the partner, also was a business getter with an appeal to the more serious minded citizenry.

CHAPTER III

In the free and easy days of the '50s it was the custom of Judge David Davis, of Bloomington, who presided over the court, to arrive from Urbana, each May and November, for the holding of the Vermilion County Circuit court, followed by the lawyers, who rode the circuit with him on the off chance that they might pick up a fee in some case. They would arrive in the county-seat in the afternoon, after the thirty-five mile overland trip, and put up for the term at the old McCormick house, where they would be met by Lamon, Samuel McRoberts, afterwards senator from Illinois; Isaac P. Walker, later a senator from Wisconsin, and Daniel Voorhees, he of the silver tongue, then a country lawyer in Covington, Indiana, who later was to be driven from the obscurity of that Hoosier town to the greater opportunities of Terre Haute and become a Senator from that commonwealth, because he refused to prosecute a murder charge against a brother of Senator Ned Hannegan.

Judge Davis, who ruled over the circuit riders like a potentate of old, would be the first to enter the hostelry, and as befitted his station, would be assigned to the "parlor," which for the occasion would be fitted up as a bedroom. Later would follow his entrance in state into the dining room, where on a long table the evening meal would be laid. Here in a stout hickory chair that would hold his 300 pounds the jurist would seat himself at the head of the board. Then would follow the scramble of all the attorneys for the chance to get coveted seats near the Judge—that is, all save Lincoln, who could be found well down toward the foot, where prospective jurors or clients might be met. There was no reason why Lincoln of Springfield should fawn on the Bloomingtonite when a client might be secured. With his inexhaustible fund of stories he always could placate the irate old Tartar for any act of lese majesty later in the evening.

Supper over and the settlement took on new life. Court week was at hand. Sometimes the event was celebrated by a serenade to the Judge and other visitors by Billy Reynold's Brass band—organized in 1840—the first in Illinois. The Old McCormick house was sending the overflow of guests around the corner to the Pennsylvania, which not only boasted a ballroom but also afforded the luxury of a dinner bell mounted on a pole at the sidewalk edge. A better hostelry by the standards of comfort but it lacked the prestige. Judge Davis preferred the McCormick house, where they gave him the parlor, with its wood fire and door opening on the street, as befitted his exalted idea of his own importance, and of course the knowing circuit-riders were of one mind as to their choice of a transient home. It did not pay to disagree with this autocrat, even in the matter of a tavern. Leonard Swett dared do it once, and the unfair rulings that his clients suffered during that trip over the circuit was a scandal to be whispered about by the other lawyers.

In the taproom of the tavern chairs would be circled around the open fire and soon Lincoln would be surrounded by an admiring throng, with the judge in the place of honor, flanked by the other attorneys, prospective jurors and sometimes even by men who were under bond to be tried later on criminal charges. In those times public opinion did not condemn until the victim had had his day in court. How the evening would speed! There was Lincoln with his stories, Usher P. Linder with his tales of life down Egypt way, Oliver B. Ficklin with his denunciation of his political enemies, and Davis, always jealous of his status as the Judge, directing the proceedings.

Down the street in the Barnum building there would be sounds of greater revelry. Here it was that Ward Hill Lamon and his cohorts were to be found. Here it was that the younger blades of the law and others who had been attracted to town by court week, would be found gathered around the famous pitcher. Here there was no evidence of the judicial dignity that must be observed at the tavern. Here as the hours advanced might be heard the "comic" songs of Hill Lamon, or maybe the sentimental ballads of John J. Brown, then a young Danville lawyer, who later was to become one of the great leaders of the Chicago bar and finally succumb to the appetite he formed as a member of this

pitcher club; or perhaps Dan Voorhees had driven over from Covington and would deliver in mock heroics one of the addresses which later he was to use so effectually in criminal cases or when engaged in the hustings. Great nights these, when good fellows got together and Ward Hill Lamon—a Virginia Cavalier, suh, always—was both the host and the cheer leader.

CHAPTER IV

Thus the years rolled along—1851—1852—until 1857—and all the time the bond between these two, Lincoln, the cautious politician, and Lamon, the audacious Virginian, who called a spade a spade, became closer, with never a rift in the lute of their friendship save the constant bickering because of, according to Lincoln, the excessive charges Lamon insisted on making for their services. This finally culminated in an open rupture when the firm was retained by Dr. John Scott—the same Dr. Scott at whose home the ungodly were wont to congregate in gleeful abandon and where liquor was served to the guests—and further, where—if we are to believe Belle, the gracious spouse of the medical man, Lincoln was welcomed, and on occasion said, as he sipped a glass of seductive port: "I by no means oppose the use of wine. I only regret that it is not more in universal use; I firmly believe if our people were to habitually drink wine, there would be less drunkenness in the country."

The doctor was resisting the efforts of a suitor of his sister, a girl of unsound mind, to have him removed as her conservator and thus get possession of her money. It was anticipated that the trial would be long drawn out and there was an agreed fee of $250. When it came to a hearing the suit was won in twenty minutes. Dr. Scott was satisfied and paid promptly. Lincoln, ever fair, refused to take any part of it because he said it was excessive. Lamon was obdurate, proved by other lawyers and even by Dr. Scott that the fee was just, and finally appealed to Judge Davis. This was a welcome opportunity to the old tsar. Still smarting from the recollection of Lincoln's rebellion the previous fall, when, in response to a written protest from the other circuit riders offered in open court during the term in Tazewell county, he had summoned the Springfield attorney before the bar and publicly reprimanded him for his small fees, "which tended to place brother lawyers in disrepute."

"Lincoln," almost shrieked the jurist, "I have been watching you and Lamon. You are impoverishing this bar by your picayune fees and the lawyers have reason to complain of you. You are now almost as poor as Lazarus, and if you don't make people pay you more for your services you will die as poor as Job's turkey."

Lincoln was unmoved. "That money," he said, "comes out of the pocket of a demented girl and I would rather starve than swindle her. I never want the reputation enjoyed by those shining lights of the profession 'Catch 'em & Cheat 'em.'"

The Cavalier returned one-half the fee and the firm of Lincoln & Lamon once more was functioning.

But the matter was not to end. That night at the McCormick house the circuit riders got together and tried Lincoln before a moot tribunal called the "Ogmathorial Court." Here he was charged with the crime of robbing his brother lawyers by his precedent of small fees, was found guilty and fined one gallon of whisky, which he paid, and then kept the crowd in high good humor until midnight with his stories. The night also is memorable because it was one of the occasions when no light gleamed from the windows of Lincoln & Lamon's office in the Barnum building. Free whisky was flowing in the taproom at the tavern.

It was in 1857 that the partnership was dissolved, because of Lamon's election to the office of district prosecuting attorney. That it was a successful combination is attested by the business handled. No other attorney or firm could boast of as many clients and the old records show that at one session of the Vermilion county court the firm was retained by one or the other litigants in every civil case on the docket.

The dissolution found Lamon with a reputation as a lawyer firmly established and it was a new Lincoln who now rode the circuit. When the partnership was formed Lamon was unknown and Lincoln, still smarting from his retirement as congressman, was collecting the tangled ends of his business and struggling to provide funds to meet the demands of the Kentucky belle whom he had married. In the beginning of their friendship the blustering blatant, boisterous Virginian was a necessary foil to the morbid Lincoln, who could weep over the reading of Gray's "Elegy" and who, alone of all the circuit riders, never took advantage of an interlude in the holding of the traveling courts to spend a day at home because of the shrewish tongue of an embittered and disappointed wife. Lamon, as an officer of the court, spent his days fighting the battles for law and order and his nights in gay revelry, but the Man from Sangamon now had become militant and was giving most of his time to the welfare of the newly-formed Republican party. Lincoln again was in politics and this was a game in which he was a master. Clients and lawsuits took second place, and although he still continued to ride the circuit until November, 1859, most of his time and money was given to campaigning and writing letters to build up the organization. It was in 1858 that he made his bid for the presidency by participating in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and it was in November, 1859, when he signed the contract that led to the Cooper Union speech in New York City, that he took the decisive step that led to his selection as the nominee in the Chicago convention. It was that speech that convinced the republican leaders in the East that this man from Springfield had the qualifications for leadership. It belied the advance notice in the New York Times, in announcing the meeting, which said, "Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer with some local reputation in Illinois."

CHAPTER V

In 1858 Lamon removed to Bloomington, in McLean county, that he might be nearer the center of his district. The fact that this also

was the home of Judge Davis and Jesse Fell, two of the leaders of the then insipid boom that eventually was to give Lincoln the presidency, may have had a bearing on the matter. At any rate, here he formed a partnership with Harvey Hogg, a young lawyer who later was to be a sacrifice on a Southern battle field. Shortly after his removal to the new location sorrow entered his home and the rejoicing over the birth of a daughter was clouded by the death of the mother. Angeline, the wife, whom he had wooed and won in his boyhood days in Virginia, had paid the penalty of motherhood. During the eight years of their married life she had furnished a drab background to a colorful husband. Hers had been the dreary restricted life that custom demanded of the wives of the '50s. She found no place in the printed records until after death, when the Bloomington Pantagraph of April 20, 1859, said:

"Funeral of Mrs. W. H. Lamon.—The funeral of this lamented lady, who died on Wednesday, the 13th instant, took place Thursday afternoon, and was largely attended. Court adjourned over, and the members of the bar attended the funeral in a body, with Judge Davis at their head. Hon. A. Lincoln was also with them in the procession. Funeral services, were performed at the house by Rev. Mr. Harlow of the Episcopal church, and the burial service at the grave was also read in an impressive manner by the same gentleman, while 'the wind chanted a dirge through the leafless trees' around the last resting place of the departed. *Requiescat in pace.*"

The daughter, who was christened Dorothy, found a home and loving care with her father's sister, Mrs. William Morgan, in Danville, where she grew to womanhood.

In Bloomington as in Danville his law office was a scene of revelry with the same old pitcher in evidence. Here also the Cavalier won new laurels as a wrestler, added to his reputation as a lawyer, set the fashion in men's wearing apparel and did more than his share to keep down the supply in the stocks of the taverns. Yet—so he boasted—never had he imbibed so much that he could not articulate the sentence, "She stood at the gate welcoming him in." Truly, a Virginian who could and did drink them standing.

Busy as he was, however, he still found time to further the cause of his friend Lincoln. He was a press agent of that day and the one product that he exploited was the claims of his friend for the presidency. He was an advocate over the District and even found time to indite endless letters pleading the cause of the Kentuckian. Tradition has many tales of his courage and prowess in physical combat. He never asked for quarter. Nor gave it. He had an opinion on every question and lacked the diplomacy to hide it—sometimes at the expense of his own popularity. But his friendship was an asset to any man—and he loved Lincoln and gave of his loyalty to the full. A great soul, Ward Hill Lamon, who was great only because of his frailties—and his loyalties.

There were busy months ahead for the Cavalier, who must follow the Court from county-seat to county-seat and carry on for the forces of law and order. The buds of Spring gave way to the growing days of Summer—and then the shorter day and the tang in the air that gives to the woodland foliage an Autumn tint, told Lamon that Winter

would come again. Time was precious for the convention that was to nominate a leader for the hosts of the new Republican party was to be held in Chicago the following May.

Then came January, 1860, with only the encouragement that some Eastern newspapers, notably in Pennsylvania, had printed the short biography which Jesse Fell had induced the circuit rider to write, which he had augmented with additional facts, and which had been elaborated into a memoir by the Hon. Joseph J. Lewis, former commissioner of internal revenue, of Chester, Pennsylvania. Small hope there, but Lamon and the others never despaired.

Then back in Illinois came the Eastern newspapers with notices of the Cooper Union speech that had been delivered on February 27. It had been a success and the Nation now knew the Illinois man was of presidential size. William Cullen Bryant had presided at this meeting and the newspapers had been most kind. Lamon took heart and doubtless celebrated the event with many a bumper. That was his habit. Drink when the world looked rosy and drink when the world looked blue. But drink—and drink—and drink—but never to the point where a gentleman could not recite without hesitation, "She stood at the gate welcoming him in."

There was added hope in February for the friends of Lincoln in the action of Norman B. Judd, originally an anti-Douglas Democrat, who, as a member of the Republican national committee, had secured the meeting of the National convention for Chicago.

Judge Davis was busy writing letters to representative leaders over the country; Jesse Fell was traveling in Indiana and Pennsylvania; Joseph Medill was down in Washington button-holing congressmen and writing letters back to the *Chicago Tribune;* Leonard Swett was neglecting his clients and his own boom for the gubernatorial nomination, and Ward Hill Lamon was "doing my damnedest to let the people know just how great Lincoln is." Lincoln, too, was busy with his pen, writing this and that man in the interest of his own candidacy, while up in the metropolis by the lake Gurdon S. Hubbard, Indian trader in the days when Illinois was young, a leader in civic affairs and a militant worker in the new party, as chairman of the Committee of Five, was busy in the erection of the Wigwam which was to house the convention.

CHAPTER VI

The Republican state convention met in Decatur May 9 and Lamon and other friends of the circuit rider had tangible hope when it adjourned. Lincoln was in attendance as a spectator. When, on the request of Richard J. Oglesby, later to be a three-term governor of the state, John Hanks, a relative, entered the hall with two rails which he alleged were from a lot of 3000 made in 1830 by Thomas Hanks and Abe Lincoln, it was easy for John M. Palmer, later a general, a governor, a senator and the presidential candidate of the Gold Democrats, to secure the adoption of a resolution that "Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the presi-

dency, and the delegates from this state are instructed to use all hon orable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago convention, and to vote as a unit for him."

The battlefield moved to Chicago, where 40,000 strangers gathered for the convention, which began its sessions May 16. New York came with 2,000 Seward shouters, Pennsylvania mustered almost as many with the difference that they had no candidate but were not for the New Yorker, and there were delegations of size from every quarter. Illinois led with more than 10,000. From every nook and corner of the state the old circuit riders had done their work well and had brought earnest souls—not as delegates but as real friends of this boy from a hovel in Kentucky whose most poignant memory of his childhood was when as a lad of nine years, he followed his father, old Tom Lincoln, out into the Indiana wilderness near Gentryville, to help dig the hole in which poor Nancy Hanks Lincoln found her eternal rest. Where, too, her soul must sleep for days before an itinerant preacher came to the neighborhood to breathe a prayer and hold services in her memory.

The headquarters of the Illinois delegation was in the Tremont house, and here Davis, Swett and Medill held mysterious conferences with wavering delegates and in spite of Lincoln's written injunction, "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none," nailed down the Indiana delegation and were reasonably sure of Pennsylvania. Promises were made in Lincoln's behalf, and when Billy Herndon, he of the alcoholic breath, sought to express a doubt as to its fairness to his friend and law partner, Davis brushed it aside with "Lincoln ain't here and don't know what we have to meet, so we will go ahead as if we hadn't heard from him, and he must ratify it." No longer was he the ponderous judge—he now tipped the beam at 325—who when he presided over the Eighth judicial district was such a stickler for truth and justice, but rather the fledgling lawyer who in his callow days saw but one side to a lawsuit and went in to win.

Wednesday and Thursday were taken up by the organization of the convention and Lincoln's friends thought they were beaten, but with the aid of the Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania delegations and a few scattered votes managed to secure an adjournment. This move was fatal to the Seward backers. Thurlow Weed, his manager, saw victory for his choice and was magnanimous—and besides the New York delegation, 2000 strong, headed by Dodworth's band, wanted to do more marching through Chicago's muddy streets. Then, mates, there was dirty work at the crossroads—and Ward Hill Lamon was the instigator of it all. During the two days the Wigwam had been crowded by a howling, shouting mob for Seward, but bright and early Friday morning, the New Yorkers and others from the East wanted to parade—and while they were doing so the Lincoln managers filled the hall to overflowing with leather-lunged shouters for the man from Springfield. The marchers came down Market street only to find the entrance blocked with steaming humanity. The Seward men might have the votes, but the enthusiasm was all for Lincoln. All this was due to the forethought of the Virginian who loved his likker

as he loved his friend. He had spent the previous night supervising a group of young men who forged the names of the convention officials to bogus tickets of admission as fast as the printer man could turn them out. With these carefully distributed the hall was packed with Lincoln shouters before the official visitors arrived.

The nominations were made and on the first ballot Seward had 173½ votes, Lincoln 102 and favorite sons and others the remainder. On the second Lincoln jumped to 181 as against Seward's 184½. On the third Lincoln totaled 231½ while Seward dropped to 180. It was then that old Joe Medill of the *Tribune* took his cue from the promising Davis and whispered to Carter of Ohio, "If you can throw the Ohio delegation for Lincoln, Chase can have anything he wants." "How do you know?" queried the Ohioan. One of the greatest editors of all time looked him squarely in the eye, and answered, "I know, and you know I wouldn't promise if I don't know."

Carter believed and announced a change of four Ohio votes to Lincoln. Then bedlam. Other states fell in line. The official announcement was 354 votes for Lincoln out of a total of 466. It was made unanimous. Judge Stephen T. Logan, erstwhile law partner of the victor, danced on a table and smashed his new silk hat; Thurlow Weed shed tears; Horace Greeley, foe of Seward, grinned; Aaron Goodrich, Minnesota delegate, sought to eulogize the New Yorker, and was howled down; Orville H. Browning, of Quincy,—whose wife, Eliza, it was who was the recipient of one of Lincoln's best known letters in which the young man of twenty-nine reveals his pique and chagrin on being rejected by Mary Owens,—in behalf of Illinois, thanked the convention, and Mark W. Delahay, of Kansas, a consummate scallawag, whose trip to the convention had been financed by Lincoln, caught the first train for Springfield. When the news reached Stephen A. Douglas down in Washington, he smiled, "There won't be a tar barrel left in Illinois tonight." He knew Abe and he knew his Illinois.

The Cavalier spent a hectic night in the taproom of the Richmond hotel—the headquarters of the New Yorkers—where he cared not whether the companion who clinked glasses with him was in time and tune with the occasion or was seeking to drown a sorrow that can come only to the patriot who has backed the wrong political horse at a convention. He took 'em all standing and the next evening found him back in his law office in Bloomington, where he wrote a letter to Hiram Beckwith, of Danville, a former law pupil, and told him all about it.

CHAPTER VII

On the same momentous Friday, Abraham Lincoln, lawyer, down in Springfield, left his home at the usual hour and walked down to the Public Square. Here he turned at the stairway over Chatterton's jewelry store and went to James C. Conkling's office, he having been informed that that gentleman had just returned from the convention. Here there was some discussion and then the candidate announced that he would "return to the office and practice some law." On the street he met E. L. Baker, editor of the *Journal,* who later made

written record of their future movements: "Met Lincoln and we went to a ball alley to play at fives—alley was full—said it was pre-engaged; then went to excellent beer saloon nearby to play game of billiards; table was full and we each drank a glass of beer.... I went to dinner."

Shortly afterward there came a telegram addressed simply "Lincoln," which said, "You are nominated." A crowd gathered and excitement reigned in the capital city of Illinois. The candidate-elect jubilated with them until an afterthought recalled memories of Eighth street, when he said, "I reckon there's a little short woman down at our house that would like to hear the news." He walked down the street alone.

Springfield did him proud. That afternoon a salute of one hundred guns was fired, the church bells were rung from 5 o'clock till sundown and in the evening a monster meeting was held in the state house with speeches by local talkers. Then the crowd followed the Young America brass band to the Lincoln home, where Billy Herndon began his night of celebration with an address. James Matheny—the same Jim who helped Lincoln strip the town cobbler's shirt from his back, tie him to a pump and hand his bruised and bleeding wife a switch with the admonition to "Light in"—also spoke briefly. Shelby M. Cullom—then a member of the legislature and later a congressman, twice governor and five times a senator—who believed in blowing his own horn, also added to the length of the program. Here and there and everywhere in Springfield and over the Illinois prairies there gleamed the bonfires that Douglas had predicted. At midnight the town slumbered—that is, all except Herndon, Matheny, Roland Diller, the druggist, and a few other kindred souls, who made merry at the Chenery house in order to be awake when the morning train got in with the Lincoln delegation.

Up in the city by the lake their crony, Ward Hill Lamon, was with them in spirit. He had missed the train.

The nomination secured, Lamon once more became the district attorney and travelled the circuit until the first of the year, with only occasional speeches in the campaign. The result of the election is a matter of history. As far as Illinois was concerned the battle was between the two old rivals, Lincoln and Douglas, with Bell and Breckinridge, the other presidential candidates, dividing only 7,317 votes. Lincoln was the victor, with a plurality of 11,846. He carried Douglas' home county of Cook by 9,846 but lost Sangamon by 42. "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country." Another vote might have been added to his score had it not been for his squeamishness. Before depositing his ballot he showed it to Lamon and Herndon, who had accompanied him to the voting place, to prove that he was voting only for the state and county candidates, as, he said, 'I could not accept the high office if I won it by my own ballot." Elmer Ellsworth of Chicago, the colonel of zouaves, who was an early sacrifice in the War between the States, when he hauled down a Confederate flag from the roof of a hotel in Alexandria, Virginia, also was in the party. He, too, was beloved of Lincoln, and his body lay in state in the East room of the White House while thousands mourned his

untimely fate. Lamon lost his vote by reason of his absence from Bloomington.

But why worry? His friend was the president-elect and he began planning to accept a diplomatic post at some foreign court—preferably in Paris—and he had an abiding faith that Lincoln would not fail him.

CHAPTER VIII

January 1, 1861, Lamon was succeeded as prosecuting attorney of the circuit by a young lawyer, Joseph Guernsey Cannon, of Tuscola. Writing from Danville, where he was holding court, under date of May 10, 1861, Judge Davis said in part: "Dear Hill: Mr. Cannon, the new prosecutor, is a pleasant, unassuming gentleman and will in time make a good prosecutor. He has a bright future. I need not tell you how lonesome it is here, on account of your absence. This is my last court here and no lawyer is practicing here who was practicing here when I held my first court. This is emphatically a world of change." This is the same Cannon who later was to be the Nation's "Uncle Joe," break records for congressional service, be denounced by press and pulpit because of his frankness, called a tsar by his colleagues, get a complimentary mention as a possible presidential nominee and in the waning days earn a record for perfect attendance with the Kiwanis club in the old home town of Danville. When the end came the family doctor told the waiting friends, "There was no illness. Uncle Joe just went to sleep." His age was 91. He remembered the hardships encountered by Lincoln, Lamon, Davis and the others when they rode the old Eighth circuit and he lived to spend hours at the radio and the picture show. Sometimes his afternoon nap was disturbed by the drone of an airplane motor in the heavens.

Being relieved of his court duties Lamon began settling his business affairs, collecting over-due fees and making occasional visits to Springfield at the request of his harrassed friend, whose every moment was taken in preparing his inaugural address, interviewing prominent members of his party regarding the cabinet and in resisting the onslaughts of the horde of office-seekers who dogged his footsteps and bombarded him through the mails. Then there was another matter that demanded attention. That was the designing of a becoming uniform that was to be of a military pattern and yet sufficiently striking to attract attention. It must be no ordinary officer's garb, but one that would look well on a broad-shouldered man, 6 feet 2 in height, and generally regarded as an Adonis. In the designing of this costume he doubtless had the advice of Miss Sally, the winsome daughter of Judge Stephen T. Logan, whom just then he was squiring, to the envy of other Springfield belles, and with whom he was joined in wedlock on November 26. For be it known the Virginia Cavalier now was a "Colonel," having been appointed a member of Governor Richard Yates' staff with that rank. It was a tribute of one drinker to another. He bore his honors bravely. No other man in all Illinois was as well equipped by nature to add dignity to a Governor's entourage when he

appeared in public. Doubtless, too, in planning his outfit he had in mind its future wearing when he graced some foreign court as the official representative of these United States. When Lamon gave his friendship he gave all, trusting soul that he was, and he never doubted that Lincoln would pay in kind. He already could see himself in fancy on the boulevards of Paris. "I feel sorry for Hill Lamon," wrote Judge Davis to his friend, William W. Orme, at this time, "and yet, my good friend, when he was in Bloomington with his negro boy, I made up my mind that his head was turned and that he would hereafter do no good. He makes himself ridiculous. I wonder what Judge Logan thinks?"

By the first of February he had his business affairs in shape and was the possessor of $25,000 in cash—a fortune in those days. He was counting the hours until the inauguration when his friend would send to the senate his list of appointees in the diplomatic service, when he received a letter. "Dear Hill," it read, "I need you. I want you to go to Washington with me and be prepared for a long stay." It was the call of friendship. The dream of Paris was a memory.

He boarded an early train for Springfield.

Here he found Lincoln and his family living in the Chenery house, the president-elect having rented the old home to L. Tilton, the New Yorker whom Banker Ridgely had brought West as manager of the Great Western railway when the State of Illinois decided that state ownership of railroads was an economic failure. Here, too, he found the family trunks already roped by Lincoln's own hands, each one bearing a tacked card on which he had written "Lincoln, Executive Mansion, Washington." The man who once lost his mental poise when Ann Rutledge, the belle of Old Salem, went to her eternal sleep, was ready for his greatest adventure. On the morrow the special train would start eastward.

CHAPTER IX

Monday, February 11, 1861, dawned dark, dank and drizzly. It was a day of sorrow in Springfield. Lincoln was leaving for Washington. Gathered at the station of the Great Western railway were more than a thousand of the friends and neighbors to wish him God speed. But one was missing. Billy Herndon, law partner, was a proud man who did not care to shed tears in public. There was, however, a bit of color to the scene, for there, acting the part of a master of ceremonies, was Colonel Ward Hill Lamon, resplendent in his new uniform, flanked by two of the three army officers who had been sent by General Winfield Scott as a guard of honor, and Colonel Elmer Ellsworth of the Chicago zouaves.

It had been intended that Mrs Lincoln and the three boys would leave on the special train but at the last moment it was decided that they take a later train and join the party in Indianapolis. This was done and throughout the trip she was to act as valet extraordinary and see that Abraham was presentable at each of the stops. The three boys, Robert, William and Thomas, were to derive much amusement

during the trip by covertly watching Judge Davis—weight now 25 stone —inflated almost to the bursting point by his own self-importance—whose pounds of flesh shook in unison with the bumping of the car as it traveled over the primitive roadbed. Norman B. Judd of Chicago also was in the party, as was John Hay, afterward the bard who told of the glories of Pike county, and proved his worth as ambassador to Great Britain and as Secretary of State, and John G. Nicolay, who lived to be a recognized authority on Lincolnia. There were others in the party, too, but they were not needed. Hill Lamon was present to lead the singing, Judd was ready to give advice as to the proper procedure at each stop, and after Indianapolis, Col. E. V. Sumner, pompous and vain, who believed his detail from General Scott to accompany the president-elect gave him the authority of a tsar, was prepared to resist all invaders. There, too, was Davis, prone to doze off as fat men will, who was ready to take the helm out of Lincoln's hands and steer the Ship of State if he was called upon.

He wasn't.

Lincoln was on the rear platform of the train. He raised his hand for silence. There stood his friends in the drizzle, with heads bared, while he bid them good bye. Eight o'clock in the morning and the bell clanged on the funny little engine with its brave smokestack, and the special train of two cars—one for the party and one for the baggage—steamed into the Eastern fog.

There stood Lincoln alone, "with the saddest face I ever saw," as the train became a speck in the distance.

It was a great adventure. No longer was it a united country for in seven of the states of the Southland strange flags were floating in the breezes, men were to be seen overhauling rifles of grandfather's day and proud Southern dames, whose boast it had been that their dainty fingers never had been soiled by manual labor, could be found with needle and thread sewing buttons of brass and silver on garments of gray of a military cut. In all of South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas but one National emblem might be found flaunting defiance to the secession hosts, and this was on a standard over Fort Sumpter in Charleston harbor, where Major Robert Anderson, who had administered the oath to Abe Lincoln when he appeared as captain of the Clary Grove boys to campaign against Black Hawk and his Sacs in '32, was in charge of a small garrison. That it was an uprising of size he realized for the public prints of that morning had told of the formal organization of the Confederate States of America at Montgomery, Alabama, two days before.

There also were spots in the North that were calculated to give him worry. Even in his own beloved Illinois the people were of two minds and from many of the towns came rumors of blows that had been struck in defense of opinion. Neighbors had become estranged while debating the right of a state to leave the Union. In the section known as "Egypt" there was open and avowed sympathy for the Southern cause. From New York came murmurings of unrest and the reports that came from Maryland caused dire forebodings. "A house

divided against itself cannot stand." On every side rumblings of discord, discontent, disharmony and open rupture. There was reason that he left Springfield "with the saddest face I ever saw."

In a journey of almost two weeks there were scheduled stops at eleven cities where he was to make formal addresses, besides many other pauses where he greeted the people. Always when needed the Cavalier was to be found at the side of his friend. Already he had taken upon his broad shoulders the duties of bodyguard that soon he was to assume under the title of Marshal of the District of Columbia. He was ever faithful at Indianapolis; at Cincinnati, where Lincoln on the 12th celebrated his fifty-second birthday; at Columbus, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Buffalo, where Millard Fillmore, who was chosen to his first elective office on an anti-Masonic ticket, presided; at Albany, where he learned that Jefferson Davis, an old companion in arms in the Black Hawk war, had been inaugurated as president of the newly-Confederated States; at New York, where a carefully-planned boycott had cast a chill; at Trenton, where he referred to the impression on his youthful mind when he read the story of Washington's crossing the Delaware that fateful Christmas night. Then on to Philadelphia, where on the twenty-second—Washington's birthday—he hoisted over Independence hall the new official flag, whose thirty-fourth star marked the admission of Kansas as a state. Then Harrisburg, where comedy and drama intermingled. Before leaving Springfield Lincoln had completed his inaugural address, which he took to the *Journal* office, and under pledge of secrecy, it was set in type and copies were printed that he might submit to friends before delivery. This address he carried in a satchel, which was mislaid in that city. Lincoln was worried—alarmed—angry. With Lamon he began searching and found a bag which looked all right and which his key fitted, but on being opened was found to contain a soiled shirt, some paper collars, a deck of cards and a bottle partly filled with whisky. "I never saw Mr. Lincoln more angry than on this occasion," related the Cavalier, "but the liquor was of exceeding quality. I returned the shirt." Later the missing satchel was found and it reminded the president-elect of a story about an old fellow down Charleston way.

CHAPTER X

The drama, of which the thrilling climax was reached in Harrisburg, really began when the Lincoln party stopped in Cincinnati, where Norman B. Judd received a letter from Allan Pinkerton, dated at Baltimore. The latter was an old friend of the President-elect and for ten years had been conducting a detective agency in Chicago. In January the detective had been engaged by S. M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad, to investigate rumors that secessionists had in mind the destruction of certain parts of the road in order to cut communication between Washington and the North. Pinkerton went East, accompanied by seven men and two women operatives. He established his headquarters at Baltimore and soon became convinced that there was a conspiracy to assassinate the

Illinoisan as the train passed through that city. Hence the letter. Then came the real melo-drama. Judd was bound to secrecy, although Felton was kept informed. At Buffalo, where Judd was put in a receptive mood for any rumors by the boisterous actions of part of the crowd—when Major David Hunter, one of the guard furnished by General Scott, received a broken shoulder while making a passage through the press at the speaker's stand—there came another missive telling him that the plot was thickening. Then at the Astor house in New York, more mystery. Judd was in his room consulting with Captain John Pope, another Scott guard, when a servant brought him a message that a lady wanted to see him in her room on another floor. He responded. It was Mrs. Kate Warne, a Pinkerton "Eye." Her mission was to inform him that the great Pinkerton himself would meet him on the morrow in Philadelphia. A letter would have sufficed, but in dealing with conspirators one must follow the rules. There must be mysterious signs, baffling disguises, hokum—and an expense account. Judd was impressed.

The next morning while riding with Lincoln from the depot to the Continental hotel, the carriage surrounded by police, he saw a young man evidently trying to attract his attention. It was Mr. Burns, a telegraph operator for the railroad. He broke through the police cordon, handed Judd a piece of paper and disappeared in the crowd. The plot thickens. There was no signature. The paper read, "St. Louis Hotel; ask for J. H. Hutchinson." Judd understood. The spirit of intrigue had him. Once the president-elect was safely established at the hotel, the Chicagoan lost no time in going to the appointed tryst. Another surprise! Mr. Hutchison was none other than Allan Pinkerton! S. M. Felton was with him, although he was registered as a guest in another hostelry. Pinkerton told his story and submitted evidence. It was convincing. Both agreed that Lincoln's safety required that he proceed at once to Washington in secret. Much of the evidence had been furnished by an operative named Tim Webster and it was essential for his safety that knowledge of the details of the plot did not become public. This only deferred the evil day. On April 30, 1862, by order of Jefferson Davis, Webster was tried by a military court in Richmond and died as the rules of civilized warfare decree that one who enters the enemy's lines in civilian attire must do. In the South land there was rejoicing that another detested spy had received his reward and in the North there were few to sing his virtues. In too many of the homes there were aching hearts from personal sorrows for many to shed a tear or give thought to Timothy Webster, who died on the gallows, and whose body was hidden in an unmarked grave.

Judd suggested that the matter be referred to Lincoln. The party accordingly adjourned to the Continental hotel, where, like true sleuths, they entered through an alley door, and went to the former's room. Lincoln was summoned. The evidence was submitted, but the one most concerned insisted that he must remain there until the morrow to raise the flag and then proceed to Harrisburg, where he was to address the legislature. Other railway officials, who had a knowledge of the investigations, called and added their pleas. Lincoln was firm.

At 6 o'clock the next morning, with Lincoln at the halyard, the new flag, with its thirty-four stars, slowly rose until it fluttered in the breeze over Independence hall. Later in the morning Judd was summoned to the president-elect's room, where he met Frederick H. Seward, who had been sent by his father, William H. Seward,—later to be secretary of state,—with a similar warning of conditions in Baltimore, which he had received from other sources. Lincoln was partially convinced and agreed that the matter should be submitted to his traveling party on their arrival at the Pennsylvania capital. "I reckon they will laugh at us, Judd, but you had better get them together," he said.

After the meeting at Harrisburg the party was called together and the matter discussed. A plan of action was submitted and those present agreed that it was warranted, although Davis was somewhat skeptical. Others present were Lamon, Sumner, Pope, Hunter and John G. Nicolay. In the evening when Lincoln was the guest of honor at a dinner given by Governor Andrew G. Curtin, he and Alex K. McClure were taken into their confidence.

The plan, as later carried out, was that a special train, consisting of a baggage car and a coach, should convey the president-elect and one companion from Harrisburg to West Philadelphia; that the track was to be cleared of everything from 5:30 p. m. until the special reached Philadelphia; that all telegraph lines be cut to prevent information leaking out; that Felton should hold the Washington train until the arrival of the special; that Mrs. Warne—the "Eye"—should engage two sleeping berths for a "sick man and his companion" on the Baltimore train, and that Pinkerton should meet the party at West Philadelphia with a carriage and convey them to the other station. Then: more hokum. The conductor, John Litzenberg, had been instructed not to start his train out of Philadelphia until H. F. Kenney had delivered into his hands a package addressed to "E. J. Allen, Willard Hotel, Washington." The package was a bundle of newspapers.

CHAPTER XI

The plan was accepted. It was agreed that the president-elect should leave Harrisburg immediately after the Curtin dinner, and as an added precaution was to be accompanied by but one person of his own selection. Here trouble began. Colonel Sumner, senior of the Scott guard, declared he would be of the party regardless. He was not Lincoln's choice. The latter wanted Lamon. He knew his friend. It was so decided, although Sumner still was insistent. Curtin and A. K. McClure were called in and given the details. The governor was anxious and in his memoirs says he called the Cavalier aside and asked if he was properly armed. He answered by exhibiting "a brace of fine pistols, a huge bowie-knife, a blackjack and a pair of brass knuckles." In telling of Lincoln's selection McClure wrote, "His devotion to Lamon was beautiful."

Sumner still was raging, but Judd during the trip had learned strategy. About 6 o'clock Lincoln was called from the banquet, went to his room, changed his dinner dress for a traveling suit and came

down with a soft hat sticking in his pocket and a shawl on his arm. Lamon, too, as a concession to the occasion, had doffed his uniform as a colonel of the governor's staff and appeared resplendent in the garb of a civilian. A carriage was waiting at a side door. Under Judd's instruction, Lamon led the way with Lincoln following. Close behind was Colonel Sumner—and Judd.

According to plan Lamon entered the carriage first. Then Lincoln. When the doughty colonel sought to force an entrance, a tap on the shoulder caused him to pause and—good soldier that he was—turn to protect his flank. The move was fatal. The carriage disappeared in the distance while the colonel raged. Judd was his target and Judd was a gentle soul who could plan battles but must have pawns to do the fighting. His discretion was warranted; Sumner was a veteran of the Black Hawk and Mexican wars, and when the news of Appomattox reached him, was wearing the uniform of a brigadier.

* * * * * * * * *

That night Henry Whitney, of Urbana, Illinois, one of the riders of the old Eighth circuit, was a passenger on the Philadelphia train, enroute to Washington, to be on hand when his friend Lincoln would shake the political plum tree. When the stop was made at Harrisburg he was surprised to note that his friend Norman B. Judd had come aboard. The state chairman for the Republican party of Illinois preferred the discomforts of a public train to the comparative ease of the Lincoln special so long as that army officer was aboard. As a further precaution he broke the journey to Washington with a two-day stay in Baltimore.

* * * * * * * * *

As it should be, the melo-drama had a happy ending. Lincoln and Lamon boarded the special in the Harrisburg yards, the wires were cut and on their arrival in West Philadelphia they were met by Pinkerton, driven to the railway station and smuggled through the rear door of the sleeping car on the Washington train. Lincoln retired to his berth and Lamon took up his duties as guard. The conductor was handed the signal package and the train started for the Maryland line. The Cavalier and Pinkerton spent the hours in converse. At Baltimore there was momentary alarm; railroad workmen were inspecting the cars!

Daylight was breaking in Washington on the morning of Saturday, February 23, 1861, when the train rolled into the station. It was cold and dark and the fog that rolls up from the Potomac still hung over the city. The last passengers to leave the train were three men from the rear car. There was nothing to distinguish them except that the one in the center was of unusual height and was attired in a coat and pantaloons that were much too short. There were none to see save one individual who was standing in the shadow of a pillar. He came forward and exclaimed, "You can't play that on me, Abe." It was Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, of Galena, Illinois, who was in the secret and had come to meet them. Later he was to get the credit for Grant's selection as a general. The latter, as president, paid the debt by sending him as minister to Prussia.

The party entered a hack and were driven to the Willard Hotel, where rooms had been engaged for the president-elect and his family. Shortly afterward he had breakfast with Washburne and Seward, who had called. The man who for ten years had ridden the circuit in order to eke out a living was now assured a permanent residence and a job paying $25,000 per annum for at least four years.

The party established, Lamon hastened to the telegraph office and sent various cipher messages in which he told how "Plums" had arrived safely with "Nuts." And "Nuts" was the man who had just entered the hotel wearing a coat and pantaloons that were much too short.

During the day, while Lincoln was meeting the members of the "Peace Conference" and wrestling with problems of state, the Cavalier was down in the barroom where his southern drawl and his mastery in the handling of good likker convinced all and sundry that the newcomer could be nothing less than a Gentleman from Virginia, suh. They were right, too—with reservations. He loved Lincoln and his allegiance to the flag never was questioned. It was late that night when he retired—but he was happy. He had had a day of relaxation in the way that he loved best. A letter he wrote to Hiram Beckwith said so.

When the newspapers told their readers that Mr. Lincoln had arrived safely in the capital there was great rejoicing throughout the North, and that he was a guest at the Willard instead of the larger National hotel was especially pleasing to his friends in Illinois. They still remembered the story of four years before that Mr. Buchanan, while waiting at the latter hostelry for his inauguration, together with other guests, had been stricken with a mysterious malady, from which several died. The report was that it was the result of poison scattered around by political enemies of the president. As usual the truth was slow in catching up with the lie. The explanation that when the innkeeper stopped the practice of dumping the kitchen refuse in the backyard and cleaned and flushed the sewerage there was no more trouble had not had time to spread to the dwellers on the Illinois prairies.

It originally had been planned that the Lincolns should occupy a private house during the few days prior to the inauguration and such a domicile had been rented by Lyman Trumbull and Elihu Washburne, Illinois friends. Hearing of the plan, when the party reached New York, Thurlow Weed, astute politician that he was, informed Lamon, "It will never do to allow him to go to a private house to be under the influence of the state (Illinois) control. He is now public property and ought to be where he can be reached by the people until he is inaugurated." The New Yorker had heard rumors that convinced him there would be no appointments left if Illinois got all they were asking for. He had his way and sent the following letter:

"Dear Willard;—Mr. Lincoln will be your guest. In arranging his apartments, please reserve nearest him apartments for two of his friends, Judge Davis and Mr. Lamon.

THURLOW WEED."

The Lincolns were given modest rooms on the second floor, immediately over the main entrance, with the faithful Lamon installed

in a small room adjoining. At the end of the hall was Judge Davis, occupying the most expensive suite in the hostelry. The judge had an exalted idea of his importance and for once did not count the dollars. He reigned in solitude. On the same floor could be found others of the Illinois pack, even including Corydon Beckwith, Chicago lawyer and ardent Douglas Democrat, who was there to further the interests of his brother, already holding high position in the commissary department as a Democrat and who just then was posing as a recent convert to the Republican party. Judd, too, could not be overlooked. He was on the job every minute and was Lincoln's one personal choice for the cabinet, but was ruled out because of the opposition of the Davis following. After Lincoln's death his unpaid note for $3,000 was a part of the estate. Davis, the executor, gleefully collected it. Down the hall also could be found the two Indiana patriots, Caleb Smith and John P. Usher, ready for the berths in the Department of the Interior which already had been promised them when they delivered the Indiana delegation to Lincoln in Chicago.

There were others, too, from the broad prairies of Illinois who might be found hovering near the door to the Lincoln suite, including Henry Whitney, old circuit rider, whose recollections are classics, and young Clark E. Carr, who in his enthusiasm to attend the inaugural ceremonies, managed to run afoul of the guards under the platform and was held a short time as a suspected assassin. Such enterprise could not go unrewarded and he carried back home his commission as postmaster of Galesburg, which he held for twenty-four years.

CHAPTER XII

Inauguration day brought apprehension to the friends of Lincoln. There were all kinds of disquieting rumors of possible assassination floating around and a letter from Lamon to Hiram Beckwith proves that there was at least a basis of fact for them. He had heard much in his few days around the barrooms of the capital.

General Scott, who had charge of the procession and ceremonies, took no chances. There were soldiers everywhere—on the roofs of the buildings along the route, riflemen in each of the wings of the Capitol; there were two batteries of flying artillery, and even under the platform there was a squad of armed men. As the carriage bearing President Buchanan and the president-elect from the Willard to the unfinished capitol rattled over the cobblestones, the spectators noted a giant, garbed in a coat of military cut, with two pistols and a bowieknife in his sash of red, mounted on a splendid horse, who was in the center of the guards in the rear of the vehicle. It was Ward Hill Lamon beginning his four-year vigil that was to leave him with shattered health and impoverished purse when the boys came limping back from Appomattox. Life was not a bed of roses for the new President. The open disloyalty was not confined to the Southland and the harassed executive was soon to learn that supposedly warm friends could become critical bystanders or overt enemies. He had been elected by a new party—a majority of whose rank and file were enrolled only because they had

become disgruntled with the existing organizations. Everyone wanted a job and there were some also wanted to dictate the policy. Even David Davis, sitting alone in his expensive quarters, manifested a coldness because he was not consulted. In all Washington there was but one man of whose loyalty Lincoln was certain and as this became apparent to the horde the shafts of jealousy were directed against the Cavalier. Disappointed job hunters sought his influence and when bluntly refused felt for their knives. Even proud senators and lesser congressmen were not above venting their spleen against the President by abuse of the "court favorite."

Lamon was by birth a Virginian and spoke with a strong Southern drawl, therefore his loyalty must be questioned by the whisperers. He was a bully—a man who drank too much—an avenue dandy—a man who spent his nights only God knew where. Thus the charges rolled up until the time when Lincoln appointed him Marshal of the District of Columbia it gave fifteen senators an excuse to vote against his confirmation. Good soldier that he was, he never wavered but carried on for his friend.

There was another matter—purely personal—that added to his worries, as the postscript to a letter written at this time to William Orme would imply: "My friend Hogg told me while here that my friends in Illinois were going to present me with a sword. Jog his memory." Then, too, there was the matter of a home that would be a proper setting for Mrs. Sally and the "President's Best Friend." He did it in the characteristic Lamon way. It was a mansion of impressiveness in vivid coloring, with a special table on which the Cavalier deposited his two bowieknives and three revolvers during his restful moments, as Orme noted in a letter to his wife, after a visit in May, '61. Then, too, Anna Ridgely, a visitor from Springfield, Illinois, noted in her diary that "Mr. Lamon does not appear at breakfast. I do not see him until dinner at night. . . . Mrs. Lamon has all the money she wants, all the elegant clothes, silver, china, glass and servants at her command. . . . She never does anything about the house as far as I can see. Wednesday morning Mrs. Lamon and I went out to make some calls. We went in Mrs. Lamon's best carriage. It is lined with red satin and is drawn by two handsome grey horses. . . . I went with Marshal Lamon to call on the President. We were admitted with the Supreme Judges and the Diplomatic corps and I had an opportunity of seeing the foreign ministers in their court dresses and was introduced to some very distinguished people. Old Abe merely shook my hand and I passed on. Madame was very gracious. She conversed with me for some time and we had the honor of walking around the East room with her. A band of music played very finely and the scene was a very pretty one. We left the White House at about twelve and hastened home to receive calls. We had about three hundred. Mrs. Judge David Davis and Mrs. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana received with Mrs. Lamon. I enjoyed the day very much."

That this young maiden of the Sixties from the pioneer Illinois town was of the sort to be impressed—overawed—bedazzled—by the

grandeur of the Lamon menage may be inferred from the closing page of her diary:

"It is the last Sabbath of the closing year, the last day, and the last hour of the day: ... I have but three resolutions for the New Year!

"1st. Resolved, To place implicit trust in God.

"2. To take a greater interest in domestic affairs.

"3. To study something that will improve and strengthen my mind."

Trusting maid that she was, she saw Lamon as he would have her see him. To her it was a glimpse of Fairyland. And she believed in fairies. To her the summons came in the waning days of 1926. God rest her soul.

As Marshal the Cavalier's duties were varied. He was warden of the District prison, master of ceremonies at official receptions at the White House, and at his own insistence personal bodyguard of his friend. Also may it be said, he became the buffer between the executive and the antagonistic members of the two houses of Congress. On his broad shoulders fell much of the abuse that was intended for the President. In the words of Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Abolitionist and Lincoln critic, "We must not strike too high nor too low, but we must strike between wind and water; the Marshal is the man to hit.

They did.

CHAPTER XIII

Shortly after the inauguration the President wanted to send a confidential message to Major Robert Anderson, in command of Fort Sumpter, in Charleston harbor. Lamon was chosen for the dangerous mission. It called for courage and the trip was made over the objection of Secretary Seward. "Mr. Secretary," said Lincoln, "I have known Lamon to be in many a close place and he's never been in one he didn't get out of. By Jing. I'll risk it. Go, Lamon, and God bless you. Bring back a palmetto if you can't bring us good news." The subject of the message never was revealed, but is supposed to have concerned the possibility of strengthening the garrison. It is significant that the messenger brought back a palmetto.

On arrival the messenger found the Carolina city to all appearances an armed camp. A strange flag floated over all public buildings and armed men were everywhere. Down along the waterfront cannon were pointed at the fort out in the harbor—over which floated the only National emblem to be seen. Everywhere men and women were anxiously awaiting the signal shot that would start the conflict.

It was necessary, if the messenger was to accomplish his mission, that he secure permission from Governor F. W. Pickens, in order to reach the fort. An interview was arranged and the Governor was most cordial. After a discussion of the state of affairs Lamon was given a pass:

"STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

"Executive Department, 25th March, 1861.

"Mr. Lamon, from the President of the United States, requests to see Major Anderson at Fort Sumpter, on business entirely pacific; and my aid,

State of South Carolina.

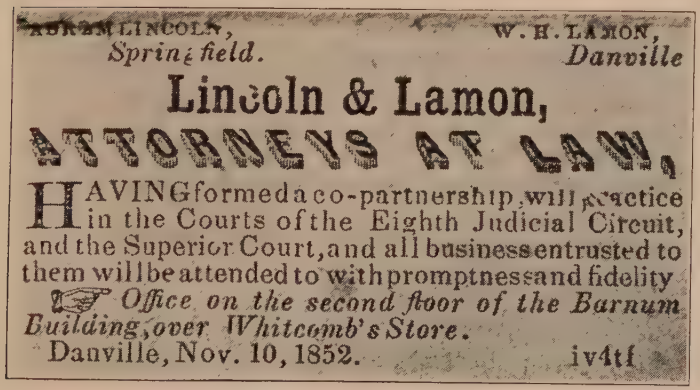
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

25th March — 1861

Mr Lamon from the President of the United States requests to see Majr Anderson at Fort Sumter on business entirely peaceful, and my Aid, Col: Dargan, will go with him and return Merely to see that every proprietry is observed towards Mr Lamon.

F. W. Pickens

Fac-Simile of Pass given by Governor Pickens of South Carolina to Lamon, allowing him to visit Fort Sumpter, 1861.



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Danville, Nov. 10, 1852. iv4tf

Lincoln & Lamon. Professional card in *Danville Citizen* in 1852.

Colonel Duryea, will go with him and return, merely to see that every propriety is observed toward Mr. Lamon.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS, *Governor*."

A steamer, under a flag of truce, was furnished by the Governor, and under escort of Colonel Duryea, he proceeded to the fort and delivered the message. It was a sad leave taking between the envoy and the soldier who was prepared to die, for both realized the gravity of the situation. Anderson offered no suggestion of surrender. He was a soldier. He had seen service in two Indian wars and bore a scar he received in battle while following General Scott in Mexico.

Returning to Charleston Lamon found that news of his mission had leaked out and there were scowls and fierce mutterings as he landed. His instructions also bade him interview the postmaster of the city, but here again it was necessary to get official permission of the Governor. This was done and on his return from the meeting, when he entered the hotel he was met by the mob, headed by the man with the rope. As already has been told, he was fortunate in finding his old friend, Lawrence Keitt, not only because it relieved the tension of a most awkward situation, but also because it enabled him to pass the intervening hours before the train would speed him North in the way that the Cavalier loved best. As a Virginia gentleman he never refused an invitation to have a drink and his code of conduct did not allow him to leave so long as he was under obligation to another for a courtesy. Ward Hill Lamon always paid his debts—in kind.

CHAPTER XIV

It was the following May when Lamon's inside knowledge of the real condition of the defenses of Washington and his anxiety for the safety of the Capital led him into the one error that later gave his enemies a basis of fact upon which to hang their abusive charges. He knew the situation and he knew the desperate need for more soldiers. The Southern leaders had had months in which to prepare but the North had made no move until the flag was pulled down from Sumpter, to be preserved and once more unfurled over the same historic pile just four years later, and afterward to be used as a shroud when Major Anderson crossed the river. With this in mind he requested of his friend permission to raise a regiment. No commission was given him, but his authority was taken from the following letter:

"Washington, D. C., June 25, 1861.

"Col. W. H. Lamon: My dear Sir—I spoke to the Secretary of War yesterday and he consents, and so do I, that as fast as you get companies you may procure a U. S. officer and have them mustered in. Have this done quietly because we cannot do the labor of adopting it as a general practice.

"A. LINCOLN."

This authority meant much and it meant nothing, but it was sufficient for the Cavalier. He got busy and soon had more than two regiments organized—and then he fell a-dreaming. He would make it a brigade and he would be the leader. Word came to him that the Thirty-ninth Illinois regiment, recruited in Chicago, was having trouble getting

into service. When it was organized it took on the name of the "Yates Phalanx," in honor of the Governor, and was mustered into service July 25. On organization it found itself without a home. The Illinois quota was filled and the officers even tried to get enrollment as Missouri troops. It only was after Governor Yates had sent a special messenger to Washington that it was accepted. The regiment was then completed and under command of Colonel Austin Light left Camp Mather, Chicago, October 13, enroute to Camp Benton, St. Louis. Here it was an unwanted child. It was not a question of more troops, but time to equip and drill those already under service. General John C. Fremont and his staff were worried, when the solution appeared at headquarters in the person of the Cavalier, attired in the uniform of a brigadier-general and with the bearing of a commander-in-chief. His appearance was impressive, his manner that of a gentleman and his plausability beyond question. But let the report of the select committee of the House of Representatives tell the story:

"... It appears from the testimony of Captain McKeever, the assistant adjutant general on the staff of General Fremont, that on or about the 25th of October, Ward H. Lamon Esq., arrived in St. Louis. Captain McKeever understood that he was the same gentleman who held the office of United States Marshal for the District of Columbia. About the same time Captain McKeever received a note from Colonel Eaton, military secretary to General Fremont, stating that the general wished him (McKeever) to order the Thirty-ninth Illinois regiment to proceed to Virginia to join 'General Lamon's brigade.' Mr. Lamon (who then had on the uniform of a brigadier-general) told Captain McKeever that he had four regiments in his brigade and that he was to receive a commission of brigadier-general, ... which McKeever understood him to say had been promised some time before by the President."

"Edward H. Castle, who at this time had charge of the railroad transportation in the Western department, states that on Saturday evening, the 29th of October, Mr. Lamon was introduced to him as a brigadier-general from Washington, and that 'he was wearing the dress of such military officer.' His object was to have Castle send him the next day by special express train from St. Louis to Springfield, Illinois, at the expense of the Government. Castle was apparently very much flattered by being introduced to so high a dignitary as a brigadier-general all the way from Washington to St. Louis. He ordered an engine and car for the express purpose of not only taking Mr. Lamon to Springfield, but several of his friends. In going from St. Louis West to see General Fremont, Castle provided that Mr. Lamon should not only go free of expense, but he directed his express messenger to 'show him attention and contribute to his comfort.'"

There was much more to the report, which closed with the recommendation:

"Mr. Lamon had no authority whatever to travel in special trains at public expense and he should be called upon to refund the amount paid for the special train which took him and his friends from St. Louis to Springfield. If he shall not do so, the proper accounting officers of the Treasury should ascertain what the proper amount is and deduct the same from his salary as Marshal of the District of Columbia."

The Cavalier returned to Washington after the St. Louis trip and soon concluded that he best could serve his friend by remaining near him. He gave up his dream of military grandeur—doffed the brigadier uniform—and the two regiments he had been instrumental in enlisting fought valiantly under other men. Henceforth until the end of the war he was to be found in the capital doing his duty.

Later when the committee filed the above report it was not necessary for the Treasury department to take steps to collect the travel bill. As soon as the amount was ascertained, he made the grand gesture and paid it. He had had the pleasure of giving his old friends down in Springfield a thrill and considered it money well spent. The Cavalier was that way. He simply added it to the cost of his uniform and the various sums he had paid out in organizing the two regiments, the vouchers for which, against the advice of the President, he refused to present, as he "did not want to place myself in the position that any evil disposed person could question my integrity." The total cost to him of his seven months of military experience amounted to more than $20,000.

It may be remarked in passing that the Thirty-ninth Illinois Regiment entrained on October 29 for Williamsport, Maryland, where it was promptly armed and outfitted, and on December 11, 1861, was on the firing line to begin active service that lasted until it was mustered out at Camp Butler, Springfield, Illinois, December 12, 1865. It was the last regiment to leave Appomattox field.

CHAPTER XV

Back in the Capital and the storm broke. He was the target of every abolitionist, every Democrat, every secret Southern sympathizer and many of the Republicans. As Marshal he was custodian of the District jail and also head of the enforcement law. It was part of his duties to apprehend all fugitive slaves that flocked into the city from the plantations of Maryland. That state was still a part of the Union and the fugitive slave law was still a part of the code. Lincoln was pulling every wire to hold the border states in line, especially Kentucky, which gave rise to one of the mots of the day, "Lincoln would like to have God on his side, but he must have Kentucky." Slaveholders who were Unionists were the balance of power in these two states, and they must have no hint of emancipation. To this end their chattels must be returned. But in order to hold his slender grip on the Senate and House he must take no personal stand. Lamon was the buffer. He never faltered, but enforced the law as he found it. This gave the Abolitionists their cue. Investigation proved that several of the colored men who had been arrested and confined in the jail were freedmen. Later there was a clash of authority. Early in January, because of the crowded condition of the jail—it was built to hold fifty prisoners but at times the number reached 218—it was necessary to confine military offenders, criminals and fugitive slaves together. Orders came to the Marshal from the Secretary of War to allow no person whatsoever to communicate with the military or state prisoners without an order from the War Department. Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa, chairman of the District committee, and other members, claimed the right by virtue of their position, of entry at all times. Others flocked to the jail until one morning a quantity of files, saws and other jail breaking tools were found in the cells. This was the end of the visit-

ing but the beginning of the Cavalier's troubles. He issued an order that no one was to be admitted except upon his written permission. January 13, 1861—Note the unlucky 13—Grimes, in all his glory and pride of senate authority, approached the portal. But he did not get in. Let him tell a part of his grievances, as reported in more than four pages of the *Congressional Globe,* the official journal of Congress at that time:

"I applied for admission to the jail. I was refused. I asked why I was refused. I was told by the jailor that a peremptory order had been made that no one should be admitted unless he had a written permission from this foreign satrap, who had been brought here from the State of Illinois and fastened upon 77,000 people of this District. I asked him (the jailor) if he knew me and that I was chairman of the District of Columbia. He said he did and that it would make no difference. ... The President of the United States saw fit in the plenitude of his wisdom to import to this District from the State of Illinois Mr. Ward H. Lamon and to appoint him Marshal. ... A human and christian man might make it a Bethesda. Mr. Lamon has paid no attention to it until of late and now only to make an order prohibiting the admission to it of all persons for the purpose of inspection or otherwise, including the committee on the District of Columbia of the two Houses, without a special permit from him."

Thirteen still was unlucky for the man from Iowa, as some hundreds of words further along in the *Globe's* columns, he wails:

"Upon this repulse at the jail I concluded to go at once to the President of the United States, to state to him the facts I have detailed and to give him some idea of the expression of opinion of those around me. When for the first time in six months I attempted to approach the footstool of the power enthroned at the other end of the avenue, I was told that the President was engaged, and the servants declined to convey my name to him. ... I submit that these facts ought to convince us of the necessity of a peremptory law for the government of the Marshal upon the subject now under consideration, as well as upon several other subjects which I pledge myself to bring to the attention of the Senate hereafter."

He did.

The pages of the *Congressional Globe* until the end of the war teem with his mouthings. He committed political suicide May 26, 1869, when he voted "Not guilty" in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson and returned to the corn fields out where the West begins.

The day proved an open season for Marshals. Senator John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, joined the pack and said in part: "If the Marshal of the District of Columbia has issued a ucase, or whatever you choose to call it, that the members of Congress shall not visit a public institution that is here under their particular cognizance and subject to their legislation and supervision; if one of the appointees of the President has issued an order that the members of the Senate shall not be admitted into one of the institutions under their care, I think it is an outrage that deserves to be rebuked emphatically and at once. I hope the Senate will vindicate its own dignity. I think the President ought to remove him instantly."

Violent Abolitionist that he was, Hale was ever ready to criticise any act of Lincoln and this was not his first battle with a Marshal. As far back as 1851 he had been the attorney in the trials of the rioters which resulted from the forcible rescue of the fugitive slave Shad-

rach from the custody of the United States Marshal in Boston. As a lame duck in '65 Andy Johnson sent him as minister to Spain.

Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts then must have his say. It wasn't brief, either. The Senators of those days sought to impress their constituents by the amount of space they could fill in the *Globe*. He said in part: "I voted last Summer with fourteen others against his confirmation. . . . I knew that he had appointed Phillips, one of the old pro-slavery men in this District, as his second and that a negro-catcher had been put over the jail. I opposed his confirmation then for those appointments, and his subsequent acts and his recent conduct toward the Senate affords abundant justification to those of us who early saw and condemned his action. . . . It is time to put our rebuke on these men and let them know we do not put them in power to disgrace our common humanity. In regard to the Marshal of this District I think we should say to the President of the United States that that man has insulted this Senate and must be dismissed from this place." Wilson, too, was an Abolitionist who could see no good in Lincoln or his acts. Later he was to be inaugurated as Vice President with Grant in 1873. His one distinction was that he died in the Vice President's room in the Capitol after a twelve-day illness.

Thus an entire day was wasted in the Senate with the result that a committee was appointed to call on the President and demand Lamon's removal.

The committee did. Lincoln listened patiently—but he didn't.

One of the number noted that the President looked worn and worried. He was. The clouds were darkening. The outcome of the Trent affair looked ominous; England might declare war; General George McClellan's illness still continued; there were reports from the fronts of soldier boys dying from exposure because of lack of supplies; the banks of New York City, Albany, Philadelphia and Boston had suspended specie payment, and a telegram just received told him that the Ohio legislature would pass a bill authorizing all her banks to do the same, on the morrow.

The committee left the White House happy in the knowledge that they had upheld the dignity of the Senate. They had given an entire day to a discussion of the shortcomings of the one man whom the harassed President trusted more than any other. They were satisfied and smug, warmly clad and well fed, so why give a thought to the boys who were hovering around open fires in a hundred camps in the Southland with their belts buckled up to the farthest notch?

The Marshal of the District of Columbia was in high good humor that night. In the barroom of the Willard he radiated it as he sat in the center of an admiring group of cronies. Well he might. He still was receiving compliments from ladies of fashion for the successful way in which he had managed the New Year's reception at the Executive Mansion; he had advance knowledge that upon the morrow he would not only make the first page of the *Congressional Globe* but that the entire issue would be devoted to his exploits, and he still chuckled over the fact that his old friend, Orville H. Browning, recently appointed senator from Illinois to fill the vacancy caused by

the death of Stephen A. Douglas, had had his pocket picked of gold pieces as he mingled in the press at the President's reception. All in all it was a great day—and what should a gentleman and a Virginian do under such circumstances?

He did.

CHAPTER XVI

The battle between the outraged Senate and the Marshal continued for more than a year, as the pages of the *Globe* show. It was give and take without quarter, with never an intimation from the officer that he was but carrying out Lincoln's secret orders. He simply was enforcing the laws that his opponents had enacted. In May the solons welcomed an ally in the person of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, military governor of the District. Lamon continued to arrest and lock up all vagrant negroes found in the Capital on the supposition that they were escaped chattels and under the fugitive slave law should be held pending return to their owners. While the Marshal was absent the Military Governor issued an order to take a female slave from the jail and deliver her into the hands of the military. The deputies in charge declined to obey the command, giving as their reason that they had no authority to do so without an order of the Court. Military officers, with a file of soldiers, seized the jail, freed the woman, placed the jailors in the cells and held the bastile under military guard.

But not for long. Marshal Lamon returned to town. He by civil process arrested the military guard, captured the jail, liberated his deputies, placed their erstwhile guards in the cells and held them as prisoners. A clash between the civil and military authorities seemed imminent. By messenger and along the bars the battle raged until eventually the matter was laid before the President. He had before him the decision of the Attorney General that in the District of Columbia the civil authority outranked the military and further, in the present instance, the military governor's conduct had been misguided and unauthorized.

Score one for the Cavalier!

A week later, on invitation of the President, Senator Browning spent an evening at the White House, where he met Marshal Lamon and General Wadsworth, and after a discussion of the controversy, the Illinois Senator offered a solution that was satisfactory to both. By his decision Lamon was to execute all writs that came to his hands, giving the General notice daily of each arrest, holding each slave twenty-four hours after such report. If in the opinion of the General any so arrested were entitled to military protection they should be surrendered by the Marshal. All others were to be held in jail under the fugitive slave law. After that the Marshal and the General were men and brothers. They shook hands and the President was reminded of a story. Later the party went down to the parlor and spent the evening with a few friends and "partook of a collation of strawberries."

The law-making branch of the Government no longer had the support of the military in their controversy, but the battle raged. The charge was made in the Senate that a prisoner, whose time had expired, was still under confinement. The charge was true. There was much oratory. Then came the bomb in the explanation. When the day for freedom came the man was sick, friendless, penniless. He had no place to go and the District did not maintain an almshouse. To forcibly release him probably meant death. He remained and the big-hearted Marshal was personally paying for his keep. This stopped the oratory and that day the Senate gave part time to matters of state.

The Senate then took another tack. Lincoln would not remove him, but they could control the salary. The compensation of the Marshal depended on fees for serving papers, receiving and feeding prisoners, attendance on the Supreme Court and other items. The Senate created a special office of warden to have custody of the prison and also a special marshal to be in attendance on the Court. "If Lamon had not been off in New York, he could have prevented its passage," wrote Judge David Davis to Gen. Orme. About all that was left was the honor of being Marshal of the District of Columbia with the privilege of being near his friend. The Cavalier carried on. Money was scarce to conduct the Lamon menage but up at the home Sally,—good wife that she was—with the blood of fighting Steve Logan flowing in her veins—performed miracles in the matter of housekeeping. It may have been that an occasional draft came from the folks back in Springfield as a letter still preserved that the father-in-law wrote to the Cavalier at this time breathes defiance to "Hale, Grimes & Co." and adds, "I ought to let you know, however, that you have risen more than one hundred per cent, in the estimation of my wife."

When a fellow can rise more than one hundred per cent in the esteem of his mother-in-law what should he do?

He did.

The failure of Lincoln to announce that Lamon's action in enforcing the fugitive slave law was by his orders was not the first time he had used his friends to keep slave-holding Unionists in line. From the beginning of his administration he had struggled to hold the good will of many of the citizens of the border states, who believed in slavery and at the same time deplored secession. At the same time it was necessary to keep on working terms with Congress, where he must depend for co-operation upon Democrats who were eager to secure any partisan advantage; Abolitionists, to whom slavery was the one issue of the war, and even in his own party there was a radical element that refused at times to follow his lead. It was a precarious situation. Even in his Cabinet there was dissension on many of the various problems that must be solved. Lamon understood this and his silence kept many a man in Maryland, Tennessee and Kentucky from shouldering a musket and joining Lee. It also kept certain votes in line in the Senate and the House when vital bills were being considered. Lincoln was censured for keeping him in office but not held accountable for his actions by certain members of Congress.

A glaring example of Lincoln's willingness to allow his friends to act a buffer between him and the public is the case of Congressman William Kellogg of Canton, Illinois. It generally was known that Kellogg was remarkably close to the President-elect and even might be considered an official mouthpiece. Judge the indignation then, when, the first week in February prior to the inauguration, he introduced a bill to amend the Constitution so that slaves could be taken into any territory south of 36 degrees 30′ from any State where slavery then lawfully existed. The Republicans were aghast because the platform upon which they had won the election expressly forbid any extension. It was a bombshell. It pleased the Democrats, however, and caused many a wavering one to draw his sword for the Union. It was the excuse that caused blustering "Black Jack" Logan—who after the war became the most bitter denouncer of the South—to give listening ear when his patron saint and political mentor, Stephen A. Douglas, telegraphed to the country that he was "prepared to sustain the President in the exercise of all his Constitutional functions to preserve the Union and maintain the Government and defend the Federal capital."

When the bill was introduced John A. McClernand, democratic congressman from Lincoln's home district—Kentucky-born and later a major-general in the Union army—arose and called attention to the relations between the Congressman and the President-elect. Kellogg loyally denied that he was representing Lincoln's views and took the abuse that was heaped upon his head throughout the North. Lincoln refused to be quoted. Many a waverer donned the blue in preference to the gray. Later it became a scandal that Kellogg controlled more political patronage than any other man in Washington. It was his by right of service.

It was not alone in the columns of the *Congressional Globe* that the Cavalier had the headlines. Just at that time Horace Greeley was at outs with the President and found in the incidents a chance to club the Executive by berating his friend. The columns of the New York *Tribune* were filled with abuse of the Marshal and so virulent were the mouthings of the veteran editor that, against the will of the victim of his pen, he was indicted by the grand jury of the District of Columbia for malicious libel. A lone juror saved the editor from a conviction. Uncle Horace retaliated by issuing an order that never again was the name of Ward Hill Lamon to be printed in the columns of the *Tribune*. It was the first successful boycott.

It never was.

The *New York World,* always antagonistic to the President, also had much to say regarding the Cavalier. One particular instance had to do with the President's visit to the battlefield of Antietam. It was malicious and untrue but it had large circulation and some credence. It said in part: "While the President was driving over the field in an ambulance, accompanied by Marshal Lamon, General McClellan and another officer, heavy details of men were engaged in the task of burying the dead. The ambulance had just reached the neighborhood of the old stone bridge, where the dead were piled highest, when Mr. Lincoln, suddenly slapping Marshal Lamon on the knee, exclaimed: Come,

Lamon, give us that song about 'Picayune Butler'; McClellan has never heard it. 'Not now,' said General McClellan, with a shudder, 'I would prefer to hear it some other place and time.'"

Then followed more alleged details, and the story closed with the doggerel:

"Abe may crack his jolly jokes
O'er bloody fields of stricken battle,
While yet the ebbing life-tide smokes
From men that die like butchered cattle;
He, ere yet the guns grow cold,
To pimps and pets may crack his stories," etc.

There was one element of truth in the story. The President did visit the battlefield, but it was sixteen days after the awful holocaust. There were no dead bodies unburied. It is true that he did ask the Cavalier to sing, but the song requested was an old ballad that had been a favorite in the circuit-riding days back in Illinois, "I Wandered to the Village, Tom."

CHAPTER XVII

All the time the Cavalier went his swaggering way, doing his duty as he saw it, publicly voicing his opinions of his opponents, drinking when opportunity offered, but never for a moment ceasing in his loyalty to Lincoln. It was a loyalty, too, that was most exacting. He, better than any other man, knew the dangers that surrounded the President and there was that fear of assassination that caused him to be ever watchful. War-time Washington was full of Southern sympathizers and there were constant rumors of organized efforts to either kidnap or kill the Executive. Lamon believed some of them, but Lincoln scoffed and refused to adopt any precautions. He continued to slip out from the White House alone for night walks. Lamon took the only course possible. He stationed guards around the Executive Mansion and added to his own hours of service. During the summer months Lincoln had a habit of spending the hot nights in a cottage in the grounds of the National Soldiers' Home, near the Capital, on the Blandensburg road. Many of these trips he made alone, mounted on "Old Abe," a fine saddle horse owned by the Marshal, but which was kept in the White House stables.

This was a source of great worry to the Cavalier, who endeavored to keep the Executive under surveillance, when he would insist on an armed escort. On occasion the President would elude the watchers and be well on his way to the Home before his absence would be discovered.

On one occasion, when the Marshal had his brother, Robert, a deputy, stationed at the White House, Lincoln managed to evade the guard. It was early in the evening when his absence was discovered. The Marshal was informed and the two set out post haste for the Home. When near the entrance they met a carriage followed by a man on horseback. The Marshal commanded them to halt, and on investigation learned that they were Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and an orderly.

"Where is Mr. Lincoln?" asked Stanton. "I have been to the Soldiers' Home and he is not there. I am exceedingly uneasy about him. He is not at the White House."

There was terror in his voice. There was dire alarm in his every action. It was the inquiry of a man who had lost a friend and feared the worst. It was the same Stanton who a few years before had refused to be associated with Lincoln in a lawsuit in Cincinnati because of his uncouth appearance—the same man who after the defeat at Bull Run had written Buchanan, his former chief, "The imbecility of this administration culminated in that catastrophy; an irretrievable misfortune and National disgrace, never to be forgotten, are to be added to the ruin of all peaceful pursuits and National bankruptcy, as a result of Lincoln's 'running the machine' for five months;"—the same man, who as late as September, 1861, referred to the Chief Executive as the "Original Gorilla" in a letter to General McClellan. But Stanton now knew Lincoln and realized his worth. He lived to see a united Nation and when the martyred President's spirit took its flight he gave to the world the immortal epitaph, "Now he belongs to the Ages."

Hurrying back to Washington the Marshal found the President walking across the White House lawn. He would take no more chances. He accompanied him to the War Department, and later took him to the Lamon home, where he spent the next four nights, Mrs. Lincoln being in New York on one of her silk-buying expeditions.

Not long after this incident Lincoln again was riding alone to the Home when from the roadside a gun was discharged. The frightened horse became unmanageable and was stopped only by the help of the guard at the entrance to the Home. The President's hat was missing. After he was safely in his cottage, the guard, John W. Nichols, later of Omaha, Nebraska, and another soldier, went down the road to the locality from whence had come the report of the rifle and found the hat with a bullet hole through the crown. Lincoln attempted to treat the matter as a joke and pledged all to secrecy. Lamon knew better and it is significant that the President never again made the journey without a mounted escort.

During the first year of hostilities Washington was a divided camp. There were many Southern sympathizers to be found among the citizenry. Riots and disturbances were of daily occurrence—some of them of a serious nature—and the Marshal and his deputies were in constant apprehension lest an affray occur of such magnitude as to endanger the safety of the Capital. Under the circumstances it was the policy of the Cavalier to disperse every street gathering that showed signs of getting out of hand. It was shortly after the defeat at Bull Run that the Marshal was passing the old National theatre about 11 o'clock one night when he noted that a free fight was in progress. He attempted to command the peace when the leader, a local bully, ordered the officer away under threat of a beating. That was a challenge. The Cavalier placed him under arrest, when the prisoner made a mistake. He struck the veteran of a hundred rough and tumble battles out on the Illinois prairies a blow in the face. That was all. Swift as lightning

the Marshal's fist connected with the prisoner's chin and he lay on the pavement unconscious, with blood issuing from his mouth, nose and eyes. A surgeon was called and the wounded man was taken to a hospital. The physician pronounced it a case of concussion of the brain and said the man would die.

The Marshal heard and believed. He was conscience-stricken at the thought of having killed a man. Having entry to the White House at all hours he hastened there and asked that the President be awakened. This was done. Here he told his story. Lincoln listened with interest to all the details and then remarked: "I am sorry you had to kill the man, but these are times of war and a great many men deserve killing. This one, according to your story, is one of them, so give yourself no uneasiness. I will stand by you."

Then noting the look of grief upon the Marshal's countenance, the President, with one of his rare understanding smiles, placed his hand on his friend's shoulder, and added: "Hill, you go home now and get some sleep; but let me give you a piece of advice—hereafter when you have occasion to strike a man, don't hit him with your fist; strike him with a club, a crowbar or with something that won't kill him."

The physician's dire prediction was verified—fourteen months later the victim died in his own bed.

CHAPTER XVIII

The action of the Senate in curtailing the official duties of the Marshal had but one result—the lessening of his income. Daily his work became more arduous and his hours of service longer. His self-imposed task as personal bodyguard necessitated long nightly vigils, while his position as social master of ceremonies at the White House became more onerous. He must be present at every official function and on his broad shoulders must rest the decision of proper procedure in all matters of etiquette. Jealousy was rampant in the Capital and it was necessary that he use all his diplomacy to the end that no one be offended. Dark clouds hovered over the Nation and Lincoln needed every bit of support that might be obtained. Then, too, there were frequent conferences with the President regarding minor matters of state which because of discord the harassed Executive dare not discuss with the Cabinet. There were domestic problems, too, that must be met and, of course, the Cavalier was the logical one, for such questions could only be shared with someone of whose loyalty he was sure. In all these dark hours the Cavalier never faltered—always loyal—always present when needed—always sympathetic and sometimes ready with a helpful suggestion—he carried on. He it was who was the sustaining prop when Lincoln—near the breaking point with the burden of matters of National import—must perforce give time to the consideration of the idiosyncrasies of his wife. Always an exacting woman, prone to violent outbursts of temper, after the death of Little Willie, in February, 1862, she began to show signs of the complete

mental breakdown that later forced her son to have her committed to a sanitarium for more than a year. She had delusions and classed most people as her enemies. Of all the close friends of Lincoln, Lamon was the only one she trusted. He always was courteous, kindly and had a way with women. No doubt, too, his unselfish devotion convinced her of his loyalty to the man she loved.

She hated Billy Herndon, Springfield law partner, with a venom that was terrifying. Even in the early days of their partnership if she had occasion to enter the law office and he was present she pointedly drew her voluminous skirts aside that they might not touch him. They never exchanged a greeting. The reason for the feud never became public but later, in 1866, he struck back with the cruelty of a savage. He wrote and delivered his famous lecture in which he stated that Lincoln's heart lay mouldering alongside all that was mortal of Ann Rutledge in a neglected grave in Concord burying ground near Old Salem. Proud Kentucky belle that she was, it was a vicious stroke treacherously thrust. It added to her madness.

To the members of his Cabinet and his Generals she was equally hostile. In her bitterness she denounced Chase as selfish and treacherous; Seward as a self-seeking enemy; Andrew Johnson as a demagogue; McClellan as a humbug, and Grant as a butcher. A word of approbation from Lincoln was sure to bring down her enmity on the head of the recipient. To Lincoln war certainly was all that Sherman claimed. Without united support in the homes of his friends, differences of opinion and jealousies among his commanders, disharmony in the House and Senate, dissension in his Cabinet and discord in his household, it was to the Cavalier—"the one man more than any other whom Lincoln trusted"—that the Executive would turn and ask him to share the load.

Be it said to his credit the Virginia Cavalier—who went his blustering, swaggering, drinking way through the dark days of the '60s—never failed to respond in times of stress. That was his way.

There were other sources of worry for the Cavalier because of his enforced absences from the Capital on various confidential missions for the President. There were trips to the battle fronts with secret instructions to the commanders in the field; there were journeys with the Chief Executive to various places where he must use his utmost vigilance as a protector and also sometimes as a restraining influence when Mrs. Lincoln, ever jealous of her husband, might give vent to her opinions without stint. He accompanied Lincoln when he traveled to Gettysburg, where he was to deliver the address that today is regarded as a masterpiece of English diction. The Cavalier went in an official capacity as he had been chosen as Marshal of the Day, and as such introduced the President. It was to him that Lincoln turned at the conclusion of the delivery and said: "Hill, that speech won't scour." Lincoln, under the spell of the occasion, regretted his lack of preparation and failed to realize the beauty of its wording. It was not until the leading journals from across the seas were available that he was assured of the classic beauties of the oration. Even after the return to Washington he still brooded over the occasion and remarked to the

Virginian: "I tell you, Hill, that speech fell upon the audience like a wet blanket. I am distressed about it. I ought to have prepared it with more care."

More and more had the Cavalier given of his time to his duties until home to him had become merely a place where on occasion he might get needed rest. It was in '63 that the faithful Sally rebelled and decided to spend the Summer with the home folks in Springfield, the understanding being that the Marshal should journey to Illinois and aid her in making the return in the early autumn days. But there always was a reason for his remaining on duty and the date was deferred from week to week. Came the waning days of October and patience ceased to be a virtue. Sally issued an ultimatum: "Come at once or not at all." The Cavalier packed his carpetbag—and then—

Came the announcement that the National cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, would be dedicated on November 19. Lincoln would make an address and Lamon had been appointed Marshal of the Day. It was the call of duty. He must protect his friend, but Sally was calling from the prairies. Lincoln saved the situation. He wrote a letter to Judge Stephen T. Logan, the father: It said:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,

"Washington, Nov. 9, 1863.

"Dear Judge—Col. Lamon had made his calculations, as he tells me, to go to Illinois and bring Mrs. L. home this month, when he was called on to act as Marshal on the occasion of dedicating the Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pa. on the 19th. He came to me, and I told him that in view of his relation to the government and to me, he could not well decline. Now, why would it not be pleasant for you to come on with Mrs. L. at that time It will be an interesting ceremony, and I shall be very glad to see you. I know not whether you would care to remain to the meeting of Congress, but that event, as you know, will be very near at hand.

Your friend as ever

"A. LINCOLN."

November 26 had been set aside as a day of National Thanksgiving and it found the Cavalier happily ensconced in his own home with Sally sitting in her favorite nook by the fireside.

CHAPTER XIX

Months of labor and anxiety were the lot of the Cavalier until June, 1864, when the Republicans met, under the name of the Union Convention, in Baltimore, and, of course Lincoln was the nominee. There had been organized efforts on the part of an element of the party to substitute either General Grant, General William S. Rosecrans or Secretary Chase as the choice, because of Lincoln's insistence that emancipation should come only as a war measure and his liberal reconstruction policies, but all the cabals had come to naught. The nomination came on the first ballot, with only the Missouri delegation, which cast its twenty-two votes for Grant, dissenting. On the second reading of the vote their decision was changed and the selection of the President as the candidate was declared to have been unanimous—506 votes being cast. Then came the single rift in the proceedings. Lincoln

had realized that while he could control his own nomination his re-election was far from a certainty. Hannibal Hamlin, the Vice President, had been acceptable to his party, but he came from New England, which was counted as being safely Republican, and the Chief Executive felt that he needed a strong Southern running-mate who would appeal to the Union Democrats as well as the disgruntled members of his own party.

Lincoln ever was Lincoln and, as usual, hid his intentions behind his friends. After a careful canvass, he became convinced that Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, a War Democrat, just then Military Governor of his home state, would have the greater appeal at the polls. He said nothing in public, but in private arranged that his trusted friends, Leonard Swett and A. K. McClure, should make the fight to defeat Hamlin. The convention gathered and Swett—the master politician—was on hand, apparently busy in an effort to secure the honor for Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt, of Kentucky. Behind this smoke screen McClure labored with the delegates, urging Johnson as a compromise. The maneuver was successful and the Greenville tailor was selected. Both Swett and McClure personally were favorable to the renomination of Hamlin and only yielded to Lincoln's insistence. Lamon, in the capacity of a friend, also was present at the interview in which the action was planned. As the party was leaving the White House Swett asked Lincoln whether he was authorized to use the President's name in the matter. "No," he said, "I will address a letter to Lamon here embodying my views, which you, McClure and other friends may use if it be found absolutely necessary. Otherwise it may be better that I should not appear actively on the stage of this theatre." The letter was written and the Cavalier was at the convention ready to get into action if circumstances warranted. It never was read and later was returned to the writer at his request. Once more Lincoln had shown his trust and once more the Cavalier had proved his loyalty.

Lincoln had his secret way, but his worries multiplied. There was much discord within the ranks of his own party, with Charles Sumner, Benjamin F. Wade, Henry Winter Davis, a nephew of his friend, Judge Davis; Chase, Fremont and others openly hostile. The Peace-at-any-price element in both parties was declaring opposition to the ticket and Swett, as late as September, on a visit to New York, wrote his wife that he found Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Thurlow Weed and other leaders utterly in despair. Lincoln, too,—ever prone to fits of melancholia—on August 23 had written and sealed a statement, which he had the members of his Cabinet autograph and which was filed away for future reference. It read:

"This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so co-operate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

"A. Lincoln."

The Democrats held their convention in Chicago in August and it was a militant and exultant crowd that filled the city. Victory at the polls then seemed a certainty. All the known leaders were there, in-

cluding Clement Vallandigham, of Ohio, but recently returned unmolested from his banishment behind the lines of the Confederate army; Dan Voorhees, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash"; General James Singleton, of Illinois; "Brick" Pomeroy, of Wisconsin; "Sunset" Cox, of Ohio; John Fuller, of Michigan; C. Chauncey Burr, of New York, editor of *The Old Guard,* and others. The enthusiasm was not confined to the convention sessions. At night there were street meetings galore and especially from the East and South balconies of the Sherman house—headquarters of the leaders. "A Copperhead orgy" the *Tribune* called it, but the *Times,* under the editorship of Wilbur F. Storey, was more friendly. It said:

"The demonstration last night was not a meeting merely; it was a whole constellation of meetings. The grand center of the city—Randolph, Clark, Washington and LaSalle streets, about the Court House as well as the Court House Square—presented one solid mass of human beings; and these were independent of crowds that had gathered in Bryant hall and other halls. During the entire evening there were at all times five speakers holding forth to these tens of thousands of assembled citizens."

John Fuller, of Michigan, demanded, "Are you willing to follow in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln, the perjured wretch." . . . W. W. O'Brien, of Illinois, declared, "We want to try Lincoln as Charles I of England was tried, and if found guilty will carry out the law"; while C. Chauncey Burr set his audience cheering with, "Argument is useless. We have patiently waited for a change, but for four years have lived under a despotism and the wonder is that men carry out the orders of the gorilla tyrant who has usurped the Presidential chair."

On the 29th the delegates met in formal session and nominated General George B. McClellan for President and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for the second place. The platform declared the war a failure and demanded that "immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities." This latter part the candidate disavowed in his letter of acceptance.

The platform struck a popular chord. In too many northern homes were there aching hearts as vacant chairs by the fireside brought memories of sacrifices that now seemed vain. Grant's terrific losses in the Wilderness and the appalling defeat of Cold Harbor had cast a pall. Sixty thousand boys in blue had crossed the river in but a month's battling; the numbered dead who wore the gray was but half of that. But Grant hung on and Lincoln abetted him. New fighting men still were available to fill the Northern gaps, and the confederates had exhausted their last levies. Even if the ratio of two for one must continue—it was ten to one at Cold Harbor—the South could not win.

It was not until October that the Republican leaders took heart. Swett was untiring and with the aid of Elihu Washburne had managed to get a campaign fund of $100,000. "Don't think this is for improper purposes. It is not. . . . Innumerable expenses have to be incurred." So the former wrote his wife. The Eastern leaders became busy and the campaign began in earnest. Troops from States who could not vote in the field were furloughed home for the election, and even in Pennsylvania, where they could, 15,000 were returned from the firing line for the moral effect they would have around the polls.

Lincoln wanted to win and, although he made no public canvass, overlooked no possible votes. In the emergency again he called upon his friend, the Cavalier. This time, however, it was a mission that gave him joy. At Lincoln's request he returned to Illinois, and once more traveled the Old Eighth Circuit making speeches and otherwise campaigning in the interest of the Republican ticket. Here, as in the old days, he was a lion. Here he was judged by the standards of the prairies and here he could hold converse and do the things that are done when good fellows get together. It was just like old times except because of the war tax the price had been increased on the fluid that fills the cup of inspiration. He was a prodigal returned—but he didn't like veal. But he did love "likker." He was treated as a guest and the drinks were free. Letters to an old friend tell all about it. It was during these hectic days some local bard sought to give the Cavalier immortality by writing a song. It was set to music and sung at the rallies. One verse has been preserved:

A great good man is Ward Hill Lamon;
Abe is Pythias; he is Damon;
He's the President's protector,
He's his political protector,
Who?
Ward Hill Lamon. Ward Hill Lamon.

On occasion when the boys foregathered in some congenial place after the hustings no one joined with greater gusto in its rendition than the Cavalier himself.

The campaign waxed furious. McClellan—"Little Mac"—because of his previous connection with the Illinois Central railroad, had slight claim with Lincoln as a favorite son—but when the votes were counted the President had carried Illinois by more than 30,000. Sangamon county—his home—however, still failed to show perfect trust in his ability and the democratic candidate was a victor there by a majority of 380.

CHAPTER XX

Returning from the Sucker State campaign the Cavalier, through his private sources of information, knew the danger of assassination of the President. Slowly the realization was coming to the leaders in the Southland that their cause was lost. Maryland—a border state and pro-Southern—by constitutional enactment had abolished slavery; Governor Brown, of Georgia, by proclamation had withdrawn 15,000 state militia from the army of Johnston; Sherman and his "bummers" were pressing the Confederates and soon must reach the sea; General Price and his Southern raiders had been sent scurrying, with a loss of 1,000 prisoners and two generals, out of Kansas, and Grant was hammering the forces of Lee around Richmond. The blockade of the Southern coast-line was holding and all through Dixieland proud wives and mothers were curtailing their rations while sometimes might be overheard the wailing of children who were underfed. Because of the absence of the masters on the firing line, plantations that had been a

source of pride, were going to rack and ruin, fields were barren, treasured carpets and other adornments had been sacrificed to provide garments against the chill of the winds that were a harbinger that Winter would come again; old family plate that had graced many a feast, bits of jewelry of gold and silver and treasured heirlooms that might be turned into money had been sacrificed to finance the Cause, and even the bells in the steeples had been cast into cannon balls. Desolation was over the land and there were many who had serious forebodings of the future. It was an honorable foe who faced the Northern hosts, but behind the Union lines there were those—too cowardly to bear a musket—who claimed to be sympathizers with the losing cause and it was these whom Lamon feared. They were fanatical and in their brooding it had become an obsession that the death of the President would save the day.

He knew many of them, but was powerless until they should commit some overt act. An indication of their desperation was shown when six steamboats were burned in St. Louis by incendiaries; when an attempt was made to destroy New York City by applying a torch in the rooms of fifteen of the leading hotels, and by the discovery of a plot to make a similar attempt at Detroit, Michigan. He knew there were men in Washington who were only awaiting a chance to kill.

While the President had discontinued his night rides alone after the episode near the Soldiers' Home, Lamon learned that during his absence his friend had been attending the theatre without adequate protection. He remonstrated. The President was contrite—and promised. Then he sinned again and again. Thoroughly exasperated, under date of December 10, "1:30 a. m." he wrote out his resignation, in which he said, in part:

"I regret that you do not appreciate what I have repeatedly said to you in regard to the proper police arrangements connected with your household and your own personal safety. You are in danger. ... Tonight, as you have done on several previous occasions, you went unattended to the theatre. When I say unattended I mean you went alone with Charles Sumner and a foreign minister, neither of whom could defend himself against an assault from any able-bodied woman in this city. And you know or ought to know that your life is sought after and will be taken unless you and your friends are cautious, for you have many enemies within our lines."

Lincoln read the letter, sent for the Cavalier, made more promises, was reminded of a story about a fellow out in Illinois, and as a special favor begged the outraged Marshal to once more sing "The Lament of the Irish Emigrant." How could a man remain out of sorts with another who admired his baritone voice?

He didn't. The rift in the lute was mended.

Thus the Cavalier carried on. While the auguries of an early collapse of the armies of the Southland increased, almost every hour his agents brought to him rumors of new plots to assassinate or kidnap his Chief. Some seemed plausible. There were other matters, too, that caused him worry. In his capacity as Master of Ceremonies at the White House and as best friend of the President he was brought in contact with Mrs. Lincoln, whose vagaries and delusions daily were becoming more manifest. She had reached the mental condition that,

save for the Cavalier, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and the negress, Lizzie Keckley, who later was to be her mentor and guide through months of stress, everyone with whom she came in close relationship was looked upon as an enemy. Then, too, his personal revenues were none too large—it was expensive to dwell in Washington—and gold was quoted at 284.

In ratio, as the forebodings of the Cavalier increased, the President became more optimistic. The end was in sight. On December 19 he issued a call for 300,000 volunteers, any deficiency to be made up by a draft on February 5, 1865. On the same date Colonel Mulford reached Fortress Monroe with the last of 12,000 Union prisoners that he had been able to obtain by exchange; New Year's came as a day of cheer—the first since the Lincolns had occupied the White House—and, if a letter to Beckwith is to be believed, even the Master of Ceremonies was not immune. He was in charge of the function and appeared resplendent in new raiment. Later at a barroom he resorted to artificial stimulation, then retired to his couch and "slept like a log."

The people of the entire Northland seemed to have caught the spirit of good will and on the 14th of January two vessels left New York with supplies for the suffering citizens of Savannah, Georgia. Commanders in the field at this time complained that the pickets of the opposing armies insisted on fraternizing and the swapping of tobacco and coffee. The same month the legislatures of Missouri and Tennessee passed emancipation acts. February 1 the Legislature of Illinois—the homeland of both Lincoln and Lamon—ratified the emancipation amendment to the National Constitution—the first State to do so. A month later to a day the Legislature of New Jersey refused to follow the lead of the Sucker State. During February John S. Rock, a negro of pure blood, was admitted to practice as a lawyer in the Supreme Court of the United States; of 500 Confederate prisoners at Camp Chase, Ohio, ordered for exchange, 260 voted to remain in duress, because of good treatment; by permission of the Confederate authorities two vessels arrived in New York harbor from Savannah with cargoes of cotton, the same to be sold and the proceeds used to buy blankets for prisoners of war in Northern camps. March 18 the Confederate congress adjourned *sine die*. It was the final session. March 25 found the President aboard a small steamer anchored near City Point, Virginia. Here he remained more than a week and on occasion with Grant visited the Union lines behind Petersburg and spent considerable time sailing up and down the river with Admiral Porter on his flagship. The trip was in the nature of a vacation for the Executive—the first in four years. Sherman, whose army had reached the sea and marched northward as far as Goldsboro, North Carolina, came to Camp Point and held conference with the President and Grant.

CHAPTER XXI

Grant's final movement began on the 31st, and as was his custom when in Washington, the Emancipator spent much of his time in the field telegraph office. His was the message that told Stanton in the

War Department of Sheridan's success at Five Points. Three days later he again wired the War Department that Petersburg was evacuated and Richmond said to be. The next day he sent a dispatch to the Department dated "Jefferson Davis' Late Residence in Richmond," and held a reception in the mansion.

Here he remained for two days, making plans for the calling of a convention to arrange for reconstruction and eventual unity. Virginia—the "Mother of Presidents"—was needed as an integral part of the Nation. "Let them down easy," he told the Military Governor. "Get them to plowing at once," he said to Admiral Porter, "and gathering in their own little crops, eating popcorn at their own firesides, and you can't get them to shoulder a musket again for half a century. If Grant is wise he will leave them their guns to shoot crows with and their horses to plow with. It would do no harm."

The Presidential party left City Point on April 8 aboard the "River Queen" and on arrival at Washington was met at the wharf with a message that Lee had surrendered at Appomattox. Lee had begun the campaign with 65,000 trained soldiers; he returned to Richmond alone.

The war was over and the boys soon would be limping home. The War Department announced that it would stop all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States, curtail military expenses and discontinue restrictions on commerce and trade as soon as possible. The spirit of rejoicing and thanksgiving was not confined to the victors. Down in the Southland there were wives and mothers who could receive the news with gladness and on many a highway might be seen careworn men, clad in garments of tattered gray, trudging along in search of the particular lane that led to Home Sweet Home.

Brothers had been engaged in a family quarrel, but it was settled, and with Abe Lincoln in the White House all would be well. He was Southern born and always for fair play.

In the midst of the rejoicing Lincoln received a message from the Military Governor at Richmond that he was having trouble in connection with the issuing of the call for a convention to promote reconstruction. It was a matter that must be handled diplomatically and one in which the instructions must not be put in writing. Once more a call to the trusted friend. Accordingly on the night of April 11 the Cavalier started for the Virginia capital. The mission was not to his liking because he still feared for his friend.

Before leaving, in company with Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher, he called on the President and asked that he promise not to go out at night during his absence, and particularly not to attend the theatre.

"Usher, this boy is a monomaniac on the subject of my safety. I can hear him, or hear of his being around, at all times of the night, to prevent somebody from murdering me. He thinks I shall be killed and we think he is going crazy. It is nonsense."

Usher joined in the plea and Lincoln finally said: "I promise to do the best I can toward it." There was a hand clasp, and "Good-bye. God bless you, Hill."

When the Cavalier returned from his mission his greatest interest in life lay cold in death. J. Wilkes Booth's bullet had done its work. The Nation mourned and gave public expression of their sorrow. The 22,000 Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout, in mass meeting, by resolution, expressed their abhorrence of the assassination. Ward Hill Lamon retired to the solitude of his home. Like Billy Herndon he was a proud man and did not want to shed tears in public. Besides mourning his loss until the final call the Cavalier always believed that it would not have happened had he remained in Washington.

In celebration of the surrender of Lee and his army the authorities in Washington set apart the night of April 13 when the city was to be specially illuminated and a reception was to be held in the home of Secretary of War Stanton. Without waiting to witness the details attending the transfer of the enemy's arms and property, General Grant had hastened to the Capital to take part in the ceremonies. That day Mrs. Lincoln made plans for a small theatre party the following evening to see Laura Keene in "Our American Cousin" at Ford's theatre. General and Mrs. Grant were invited to join them. They accepted, but later because of the protests of Stanton, Grant made an excuse and left the city for Burlington, New Jersey, where his daughter was attending school.

Stanton continued to object and even refused the services of Major Thomas T. Eckert as a guard in an effort to have the appointment cancelled. The sequel is history. The Lincolns attended the performance; there was a shot; a woman's scream; a man was seen to leap from the President's box to the stage and disappear in the wings. When Lamon returned to Washington Saturday night the body of his friend lay in eternal sleep in an upper room in the White House.

After much discussion it had been decided that a public funeral would be held in Washington and that the body would lie in state for brief periods in the larger cities on the way to Springfield, Illinois, where the Emancipator was to find rest. Busy days and nights followed for the Cavalier from the time of his return to the Capital until Friday, April 21st, when the funeral train of nine cars steamed out of the station, bearing the bodies of the martyred President and his beloved Willie, who had died in February, 1862. As Marshal he had charge of the proceedings in the White House and there was the added task of pacifying a widow who no longer knew what she did. She was a woman demented. There were anxious hours before the decision as to the final resting place of the martyr could be made. At first she was opposed to Springfield as the site and when finally won over only consented when a change was made from the original tract secured by the committee to a plot in Oak Ridge. Even then she insisted that the title to the ground be conveyed to her and her heirs. Under threat that if necessary she would resort to the courts and remove the body to Washington, the committee, on June 16, acceded to her demand.

Funeral services were held in the Green room in the White House on the twenty-first. Mrs. Lincoln and Little Tad were not present. Neither was the Marshal; he was in an upper room trying to console the Lincoln boy who spoke with a lisp. Two days later the funeral train

started on its twelve-day journey to the Capital City of Illinois. The official party, which acted as an escort of honor consisted of one congressman from each state and territory in the Union and the entire Illinois congressional delegation. Included, also, were the Cavalier, Judge David Davis, now elevated to the Supreme Court, and Major General David Hunter who soon was to sit as a member of the military commission that was to try the conspirators. The latter had been members of the party that accompanied the Illinoisan when he came out of the West in the dark days of 1861.

Baltimore, where four years before he had passed through like a thief in the night; then Harrisburg, Philadelphia and New York, where after that former appearance the wife of a Belmont found it necessary to announce in the public prints that she did not attend the reception tendered Mrs. Lincoln, and where, within two years, the streets had been drenched in blood during the draft riots in which more than a thousand men and women were slaughtered. Then on to Albany and Buffalo, where Stephen Grover Cleveland, then assistant prosecuting attorney of Erie county, who spent his Saturday evenings in the beer halls, was in the line that paid silent tribute. On to Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis—and then Chicago—the scene of his nomination as the candidate of a new-born party. Here was the home of his friends and here were to be seen in the waiting lines men and women who always had trusted him. At each of the stops the body had laid in state in some historic or public building while countless thousands had testified their grief and the horror and loathing in which they held the men and woman who were responsible.

During the long and weary hours of waiting at each of the stops the Cavalier might be seen hovering near the bier of his friend. Such rest as he managed to get was secured as the train steamed along between stops. He was taking no chances that anything would happen that might seem like desecration. It was not until the funeral party arrived in Springfield that he sought a couch. His self-imposed vigil was ended.

Thursday, May 4, at 10 o'clock the "saddest face I ever saw" was covered and the body was conveyed to Oak Ridge where friends of years did reverence as Rev. Gurley breathed a prayer and Abraham Lincoln, greatest American of a generation, had found his eternal rest. Near the grave stood the Cavalier with bared head and tears poured down his cheeks. In his grief he had forgotten his pride.

CHAPTER XXII

It was a new Washington to which the Cavalier returned two weeks later. He had hoped to spend some time in the Illinois Capital, but depression was in the air. His friends refused to cast aside the funeral spell. There were greetings from old acquaintances, but they were subdued. There was none of the back-slapping, none of the old-time hilarity, none of the old-time drinking. He started East—Springfield—Decatur—Danville—all familiar towns in his circuit-riding days

—then Indianapolis, and on and on, over the old Lincoln route to the official seat of government. Here was a new scene. The streets were filled with clerks from the various departments, whose activities had ceased with the final collapse of the War—when Johnston's army of 25,000 men, of whom but 8,000 were capable of bearing arms, had surrendered to Sherman on April 26—and with the furloughed soldiers from Grant's victorious band, the harpies and other followers of the army. On all the public buildings and many private ones bedraggled bits of mourning still fluttered in the breeze. Gone were the contractors who for four long years had waxed fat by selling to the Government wares of every sort for which a market had been made by the demands of war. They were an unscrupulous lot and many a boy in the field had given his life because careless inspectors had allowed inferior equipment to be accepted at a top price. In their place, however, had come the vultures that follow every war. Like buzzards that scent the battlefield from afar they had trooped to the Capital looking for the bargains in war gear, arms and other accessories of the army. All these must be disposed of at any price to expedite the demobilization. Smug and well-fed they were and few bore scars of combat. They were the parasites that can thrive only on the misfortune of others. Then, too, there were the patriots who—too cowardly to shoulder a gun when the flag was under fire—were now ready to take on the burden. They were everywhere and their name was legion. They were the gentlemen who later raped and scourged the Southland in its darkest days. They were the carrion who later were known in history as Carpetbaggers. Some, who had been Lincoln's severest critics in Congress, resigned and entered the mad scramble for the spoils. The Cavalier looked on the scene and sorrowed. In the wild Illinois days he had been a rough and tumble fighter but he never struck a man when he was down. The battle over he was ready to aid a fallen foe.

God reigned and the Government at Washington still lived—but a new Captain was at the helm—a man whose creed was expressed when he declared, "The Government must be strong enough not only to protect but to punish." Andrew Johnson was President, as provided in the Constitution. Three hours after Lincoln's death he took the oath of office in his lodgings in the Kirkwood hotel, in the presence of Chief Justice Chase and all members of the Cabinet except Seward, who was bedfast suffering from the knife thrusts of the would-be-assassin, Louis Payne. Such Senators as had remained in Washington after adjournment also were called in as witnesses. It was Andrew's big hour—and he took full advantage of it. He made a speech. A short one, it is true, but it was regarded as his inaugural and as giving a hint of his policies. "I must be permitted to say," he said, "if I understand the feelings of my own heart, I have long labored to ameliorate and alleviate the condition of the great mass of the American people. Toil and an honest advocacy of the great principles of free government have been my lot. The duties have been mine; the consequences God's."

This led Senator John P. Hale, of New Hampshire—the same who had so roundly denounced the President in 1862 because of his

refusal to remove Lamon and had remained one of his severest critics—to declare: "Johnson seemed willing to share the glory of his achievements with his Creator, but utterly forgot that Mr. Lincoln had any share of credit in the suppression of the Rebellion."

Senator James W. Grimes, from the comfort of his home in Iowa, —another of the coterie of Abolitionists who had so assailed Lincoln because of his loyalty to the Cavalier—wrote: "I was kept busy last night trying to prevent the destruction of the store of a foolish woman who, it was said, expressed her joy at Mr. Lincoln's murder. Had she been a man, so much was the old Adam aroused in me, I would not have uttered a word to save her."

The surrender of Lee had been met with a feeling of equanimity by most of the leaders in the Southland because of their faith in the justness of Lincoln. Already he had shown it by his efforts to inaugurate his "Louisiana plan" and his reconstruction work in Tennessee. The elevation of Johnson, however, was regarded with foreboding. Although Southern born he was not of the quality and was classed as "poor white" by the proud slaveholding element. Despite his meteoric rise from direst poverty to positions of trust and honor—successively alderman, mayor, member of the legislature, State senator, congressman, governor, vice president and lastly the Chief Executive—he never had been admitted on terms of intimacy in the homes of the aristocracy of the Old South. He was not one of them. His political strength came not from the plantations of the well-to-do, but rather from the hovels and the cabins of the hill-billies and the cottages of the toilers of the towns. He also had been an object of suspicion to the slave-holders because of his constant advocacy of homestead laws. He believed in the distribution of the public domain in small tracts to actual settlers. "The withholding of the use of the soil from the actual cultivator is violative of the principles essential to human existence." Had the Homestead law of 1862 been passed ten years earlier the Kansas-Nebraska controversy might have been unnecessary. Slavery never could thrive where small holdings abounded. To be profitable it must be conducted on the scale of the plantations of the Old South. He was true to his ideals and with the courage of a crusader never faltered in his battle for what he believed to be right. In the early days of his political career he dared oppose "Old Hickory" Jackson—the idol of Tennessee—and supported the cause of Hugh L. White for the Presidency. Later he opposed James K. Polk. His battles with the House and Senate and with his Cabinet during his tenure as President is an old story. His loyalty never was questioned. Of the twenty-two members of the Senate from the States that seceded, he was the only one to remain true to his oath. It was unfortunate for the South because of his intolerance that he was called to settle the post-war problems, but it was fortunate for the Nation because of his honesty that he held the guiding hand. The looting began with the administration of Grant.

The Cavalier resumed his duties as Marshal, but his heart was not in the work. With Lincoln gone it was not the same. He still had access to the White House, but Andrew Johnson was not bound to

him by the ties of friendship. The assassination, too, had called attention to the necessity for better arrangements for the guarding of the Executive. To this end General Lafayette Baker, who was at the head of the newly-created secret service, had taken over the policing of the Executive Mansion.

On May 23 and 24, as part of his duties, he stood beside his Chief on the reviewing stand as the countless thousands of veterans of the armies of Grant and Sherman passed in grand review. Another occupant of the stand was Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, who four years before had been a clerk in a tannery at Galena, Illinois. This ceremonial was the result of a suggestion of Secretary Stanton. The veterans of Appomattox were already near the Capital and the "bummers" who had followed Sherman to the sea and then North to within a day's march of Washington were given opportunity to pass in review before the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and the chief officers of the Government. It was impossible for all to participate, but on the first day—given over to a review of the Army of the Potomac.—one hundred and fifty-one regiments of infantry, thirty-six regiments of cavalry and twenty-two batteries of artillery, came swinging down the avenue in military precision. As they passed the Cavalier looked in vain for the Thirty-ninth Illinois—the regiment that had caused his trouble with the Senate. It was detained on guard duty in Richmond. The following day was given over to the Army of Tennessee and the Army of Georgia, the right and left wings of Sherman's forces. They mustered one hundred and seventy-one regiments of infantry, but less cavalry and artillery. They were representatives of the 1,000,516 fighting men the records for that day showed were under arms in the various units of the National army.

It was the Cavalier's last official appearance in public.

On June 8 he tendered his resignation as Marshal of the District—the third time he had done so—and two days later it was accepted with regret. Secretary Seward, in doing so, said in part:

"He (the President) accepts your resignation to take effect on Monday, the 12th inst., but in so doing deems it no more than right to say that he regrets that you should have asked him to do so. Since his advent here he has heard from those well qualified to speak of your unwavering loyalty and your constant personal fidelity to the late President. These are the qualities that have obtained for you the reputation of a faithful and fearless public officer, and they are just such qualities as the Government can ill afford to lose."

Proof that the expressions of regret were sincere came shortly afterward when President Johnson offered him a place in his cabinet as Postmaster General. It was declined. The glamor of public life had palled.

CHAPTER XXIII

Broken in fortune and in failing health the Cavalier once again turned to the law. A partnership was formed with Jeremiah S. Black and his son, Chauncey F. The former had served successively as Attorney General and Secretary of State under President Buchanan, and

although a Pennsylvanian, was suspected of being in sympathy with the Lost Cause. The firm was successful and handled many notable cases. While so engaged Lamon conceived the idea of writing a biography of his martyred friend. Many volumes already had been printed, but with the exception of that of Dr. J. G. Holland none had in the least degree a life story of the Lincoln the Cavalier knew. The fashion of the day demanded that the writer of biography must place his subject behind a glass of fiction that the lines of character, of human passions and human weaknesses, of human loves and human hatreds, must perforce become indistinct and blurred to the end that he might be known, not as he really was, but according to the standards of the day, as he should have been. The Lincoln of the story book was not the idol of his heart. The Lincoln he knew was a man of many virtues and numerous faults. The man who could take a drink if it served a purpose; could wade through the mud to free a pig fastened in a gate; could on occasion declaim an obscene poem; deliver the Gettysburg address; illustrate a point by telling a story that would cause a laugh; sob for an hour when he was told that Soldier Boy Charlie Black—afterward known in history at General John C. Black—had been wounded nigh unto death on Pea Ridge field, or during some of the darkest hours of the War Between the States could laugh uproariously when the Cavalier sang a "comic" song. The man who had no ancestral background, no fellows and no successor. This was the man whom Lamon loved and revered —and he wanted all men to share in his memories.

No man was better fitted to delineate the character of the dead President than Lamon. Fourteen years close association with him as a business partner and as his bodyguard during the dark days of the War gave him an insight that was shared by no one. As an additional aid he secured the use of the Herndon collection of manuscripts and notes that dealt with the martyr's life from the time of his birth until he left Springfield "with the saddest face I ever saw."

It was shortly after Lincoln's inauguration that William Herndon, law partner at Springfield, took upon himself the task of gathering all possible details concerning the life story of his friend. In the work he was a modern Boswell. All was grist that came to him. No happening was too small to be carefully written out. He visited Kentucky; he made pilgrimages to Indiana; he followed Tom Lincoln and his family when they trekked from Gentryville to Decatur, Illinois; he journeyed to New Salem—to Clary's Grove; he spent days in Vandalia—the old State Capitol—where Lincoln had served in the Legislature. And all the time he was delving into old records and putting into writing every scrap of information he could find. He either begged or copied every personal letter of Lincoln's of which he could find a trace. In Springfield, too, he did not trust to his own recollections but filled pages with the statements of fellow citizens who had had contact with his friend. This mass of information was placed at the disposal of Lamon. He then arranged with the firm of James R. Osgood & Co. for its publication in two volumes. For the actual writing of the biography the services of Chauncey Black, his law partner, was secured. He was a clever writer and college bred. The publishers, however, had

misgivings because of Black's known unsympathetic attitude toward the Lincoln administration. The opening chapters appeared to be frank and unbiased, but as the manuscript for later installments was handed in the publishers were forced to call a halt. Facts had been distorted to make a more creditable showing for the Buchanan four years. Lamon was called in, and some of it was rewritten by John Spencer Clark, of the company. This caused a split with Black and no more copy was forthcoming. But one volume was issued and this was published at a loss.

In a statement of the transaction Clark said in part: "Colonel Lamon impressed me as a man of intelligence and good sense, gained by a sort of rough and tumble experience, and while in no way a man of literary culture . . . he was an admirer of Mr. Lincoln as an honest political statesman, and in the matter of having Mr. Lincoln's life truly set forth he only needed to have the truth shown to him to stand by it."

The friendship between Lamon and Black was broken and shortly after there was a dissolution of the law firm. Today the passions of the '70s are no longer in vogue and collectors are eager to buy soiled copies at $50 a volume. It is regarded as a real addition to Lincolnia. After his death his daughter edited and published another volume, "Recollections of Lincoln," which had been written during his enforced exile in the West, and this, too, is highly prized because of much intimate matter not found elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIV

After the dissolution of the law firm in 1879 the Cavalier, accompanied by the faithful Sally, went to Boulder, and later to Denver, Colorado, where he hoped the balsam-laden air of the Rockies would restore his health. He, who in his heyday, had been the victor in a hundred wrestling contests; who had been triumphant in many a physical battle, and who never had sought his couch when duty demanded his wakefulness, was now paying the penalty and was an impatient invalid. He remained in the West seven years before he acknowledged a losing fight and returned to Washington. Despite the loving care of faithful Sally, who except for occasional visits back among the home folks in Springfield, Illinois, had been both a nurse and a helpmate, he had failed to recuperate. Here it was, however, where he spent two of the happiest years of his life. It was here that the beautiful friendship between the Cavalier and Eugene Field, "Poet of Childhood," had its beginning.

It was in 1881 that Field, fresh from his newspaper apprenticeship in St. Joseph, Missouri, St. Louis and Kansas City, was induced to take the managing editorship of the *Denver Tribune,* a newspaper owned by a coalition of railroad and political interests. Independent of the legitimate sources of newspaper revenue his only instructions were "to make her hum." He did. He assembled the most brilliant staff to be found in the middle West and soon the *Tribune* had a reputation for the enemies it had made.

Although a devoted husband and the father of four children, domestic cares sat lightly on the poet's stooping shoulders and he yielded his spare time to the intoxicating whirl of life about him. All the political, railway and mining interests of Colorado and other mining and cattle-raising States centered in Denver. It was the life of a gold rush town of the West coast with the conveniences and allurements of an Eastern city. It was the last stand of unconventionality before prudery and hypocrisy held sway. It was an environment in which Field could revel and in which the Cavalier could delight. It was inevitable the twain should meet.

Thereafter to the Cavalier one day after another was much like the rollicking, roistering, riotous times when he rode the Old Eighth Circuit in Illinois and ended the day by proving his sobriety by declaiming "She stood at the gate welcoming him in." They were boon companions and bosom friends. Outside working hours they could be found together in some of the places where good fellows congregated for merriment. They were together when Field planned his Oscar Wilde hoax. The English apostle of Sweetness and Light was on a lecture tour in this country and was booked for Denver. Anticipating his visit to the city by one day, duly announced in the *Tribune*, the Poet appeared in the finest landau to be procured and was driven from the railway station through the principal streets to the leading hotel, where he disappeared. He was resplendent in gay colors, with a flowing flaxen wig and a sunflower bobbing on his breast. It was a splendid impersonation of the Wilde of the cartoonists and those not in the secret gave him an ovation. When the real personage arrived and was told of the hoax, he refused to become angered, and only remarked, "What a splendid advertisement for my lecture." It was.

It was through Field that the Cavalier was to cement another friendship—liquid and lasting. It was with Edgar W. Nye, known to fame as "Bill." At the time Nye was conducting the *Boomerang,* a weekly sheet, printed in Laramie, Wyoming. Field, ever on the lookout for talent, was caught by the rare humor of some of his paragraphs, and arranged for the funster to contribute a weekly letter to the *Tribune*, for which he was to be paid $5.00. Later, as the feature began making friends, the amount was increased to $10.00, and one day when the Poet was in a particularly mellow mood, he wrote that hereafter the price would be $15.00. This was too much for the Laramieite. He suspended an issue and traveled post haste to Denver to learn what it all was about. It was the day of full beards and flowing hair and when he entered the *Tribune* office he looked more the bewhiskered farmer than the smooth-faced and bald humorist whom the cartoonists were to depict and the lyceum followers were to know in later years. He was greeted as a friend and brother. There was an adjournment across the street, Lamon was sent for, and what started as a few friendly drinks soon became an endurance contest. After a dinner at the St. James hotel in honor of the visiting humorist, in which the entire *Tribune* staff participated, Nye was carefully put to bed at 5 a. m., Field started on the hunt for a street car and the Cavalier from the vantage point of a table in the office, told the world that "She stood at the gate welcoming him in."

On arrival in Denver Lamon had resumed the practice of law and maintained an office in a down town building. Here on one occasion Field entered and found his friend asleep on the floor—a favorite habit of his. After waiting some time, and there being no sign of a cessation of the snoring, he pencilled the following verses, which he pinned on the lapel of the Cavalier's coat, and quietly left the room:

"As you, dear Lamon, soundly slept
And dreamed sweet dreams upon the floor,
Into your hiding place I crept
And heard the music of your snore.

A man who sleeps as you now sleep,
Who pipes as musically as thou—
Who loses self in slumber deep
As you, oh happy man, do now,

Must have a conscience clear and free
From troublous pangs and vain ado;
So ever may thy slumber be—
So ever be thy conscience, too.

And when the last sweet sleep of all
Shall smooth the wrinkles from thy brow,
May God on high as gently guard
Thy slumbering soul as I do now."

It was in 1883 that Field received the recognition that was to take him to Chicago as a staff member of the *Chicago News*—afterward the *Record*—where he earned his real place in American literature. He was indeed the "Poet of Childhood" and his departure left the Cavalier desolate. Ten years later, on hearing of the death of the Virginian, Field wrote:

"I hear with deep sorrow of the death of your dear father. Ten years have elapsed since I last saw him, but I have in admiring and affectionate remembrance his keen and vigorous intellect, his wide culture and the cordiality of his generous, thoughtful nature. I recall with pleasure the very many delightful hours we spent together, for there was much in common between us. He was a great, good and gracious man. God rest him."

CHAPTER XXV

In 1886 the Cavalier returned to the National Capital. He was a broken man, but his indomitable will caused him to carry on. The faithful Sally, too, had succumbed to the strain and was an invalid. It was decided to try the spas of Belgium and the cures of Central Europe in the hope that each might receive benefit. They sailed East in the Winter of 1889 and landed in Paris—the Paris of which the Cavalier had dreamed in the brave days when he was campaigning the old Eighth District in the interest of his friend Lincoln. Much that is history had transpired since the carefree hours when the Virginian was courting the gay Sally Logan—town belle—and they discussed the details of their approaching marriage as they sat in the family parlor in Logan Place or wended homeward in the evening from one of Elder B. F. Perkey's fiery sermons in the Christian church and even

planned the honeymoon days they were to have together when Mr. Lincoln should be inaugurated President and send his erstwhile partner to France to represent the Nation. Shattered dreams, it is true, but still memories that lingered and gave them hope of more peaceful days to come, as the good ship slowly ploughed the waves.

There were weeks in Paris, a stay in Berlin, then on to Carlsbad, Bohemia, where they took the cure in the warm alkaline waters, without apparent favorable results. Then followed various other so-called health resorts until 1892, when they settled in Brussels. Here it was where faithful Sally gave up the battle. It was August 6 when the summons came and her soul entered the boat to cross the river. Kindly strangers crossed her tired hands on her breast and prepared the wasted body for shipment across the seas to Springfield, where she sleeps in Oak Ridge in the burial plot of the Logan clan.

After the interment of his wife the Cavalier returned again to Washington, but not for long. He was at loose ends and soon sought the scenes of his boyhood. He moved to Martinsburg, West Virginia, within a few miles of the town of Winchester, Virginia. Here he was near the old family holdings. Although the exigency of war had drawn an invisible state barrier between the two towns it still was to him the soil of his boyhood State. It but marked the division caused by the differences of opinion of members of the same families in the matter of secession. Eastern Virginia had followed a strange flag of Stars and Bars, while the Western sector had remained faithful to the Stars and Stripes and had secured separate Statehood. It was to him a haven and a land that recalled much romance. Here for generations had dwelt the members of his family, multiplied from that pioneer forebear into the Lamons, the Lemons and the Lemens. A contrary lot, this family, but always true to every trust.

Here the ravages of disease became more virulent and as the days went by he became weaker. He missed the care of his faithful Sally, but there was a worthy substitute in the person of Dorothy Lamon—"Dolly," he called her—his daughter by his boyhood marriage to Angeline Turner. She, true daughter that she was, never faltered in her attentions and did much to ease his declining days. Shortly before the end, as he lay in a semi-stupor, the explosion of a gun was heard. He roused and there was a look of alarm on his face. Possibly he had been dreaming of the Washington days of the '60s, when his every thought was for the safety of his friend. Soon there was a realization of his surroundings and there came a smile. It may have been that the noise had recalled an incident of the rollicking days in Illinois, as told in the *Danville Prairie State* of April 16, 1856:

"Some dastardly scoundrel placed powder in the stove in the office of W. H. Lamon Esq., the other night, which came very near blowing 'Bob' up when he kindled the fire next morning. Any person who would be guilty of such cowardly attempt to destroy the life or property of another, deserves the severest punishment."

It was near the midnight hour of May 7, 1893, when the Cavalier's spirit took its flight. He was conscious to the last moment, but for the last sixteen hours had lost the power of speech. From early dawn Dolly hovered around the bedside, hoping every moment he would be

able to leave her some comforting word. None came, but his eyes gave her the message that all was well. She was so stunned during the long watch that she could offer no prayer of hope, but just before the summons like an inspiration came to mind the last lines of 'Gene Field's little poem, which she recited to him:

"And when the last sweet sleep of all
Shall smooth the wrinkles from thy brow,
May God on high as gently guard
Thy slumbering soul as I do now."

The Cavalier smiled. These were the last words Ward Hill Lamon ever heard on earth.

So ended a life of sacrifice and service. In his wandering, without an objective, he had travelled in a circle. He had returned to his beloved Virginia foothills of the Alleghanies. In his life record there were interludes when he was a part of history in the making and on its every page there were evidences of his loyalty to his friends. He had been trusted by Lincoln, adored by Sally Logan, loved by 'Gene Fields, esteemed by his cronies and respected by his enemies. He died poor in material things.

As a fitting end for a Soldier of Fortune friends buried him where he fell. He sleeps in the Gerrardstown graveyard near Martinsburg.

Would it were possible to drink to his memory in beady bourbon. The Cavalier would have it so.

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